

AND UNTO SMYRNA

The Story of a Church in
Asia Minor

"What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea."

(The Revelation of St. John the Divine,
Chap. I. v. 11)





Here the holy Ignatius on his way to martyrdom through the city of Smyrna is welcomed by S. Polycarp the Bishop who kisseth with reverence the martyr's chains.

(Photograph by Alkim, Izmir.)

ST. POLYCARP WELCOMES ST. IGNATIUS

This base detail of the central light of the East Window of St. John the Evangelist's Church, Izmir, by the late C. E. Kempe, was dedicated in 1905 to record that "Here the holy Ignatius on his way to martyrdom through the city of Smyrna is welcomed by St. Polycarp the Bishop who kisseth with reverence the martyr's chains."

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Asia Minor

by

S. W. H. BIRD, M.A. (Oxon), Hon.C.F.

(British Chaplain at Smyrna, including Bornova and Buca)

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CONTENTS

		<i>Page</i>
	Introduction	7
Chapter I	The Importance of a Name	11
Chapter II	The Dawn of Christianity	17
Chapter III	Not Peace but a Sword	31
Chapter IV	There is a Tide	42
Chapter V	In the Steps of St. Polycarp	64
Chapter VI	As Gold in the Furnace	81
Chapter VII	Tribulation Ten Days	101
	Appendices : A. Main Events	118
	B. Anglican Clergy ...	119
	Index	123

ILLUSTRATIONS

St. Polycarp welcomes St. Ignatius	<i>Frontispiece</i>
“ Smyrna in the year 1700 ”	... 56
Modern Izmir	... 102

DEDICATION

To the dear and hospitable people who received the Author, when called by God, he was sent to minister to the Anglican churches of Smyrna, this book is respectfully dedicated.

"And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you: And heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you". (St. Luke, 10. 8-9.)

INTRODUCTION

The Author, having no desire to fish in the troubled waters of politics or international affairs, feels it incumbent upon him to make it perfectly clear to the reader that this little book is neither political nor reactionary. It attempts no more than to describe the Christian Church, which he has had the honour to serve, in its historical setting. The Author is well aware that the critic may argue that it is impossible to do so without raising many controversial political and religious issues. For that reason he frankly admits that by his refusal to emasculate his account of the Church's life and witness, such episodes as, for example, the evacuation of the Greeks in 1922, run the risk of being gravely misunderstood, especially when described, as they admittedly are, from the Greek point of view. The reader, however, will not make the mistake, which the Turks never made, of equating Christianity with the Greek nation, nor forget that seen through Turkish eyes these same events would appear quite different.

All that is hoped is that within its limitations this work may be found historically accurate and devotionally helpful. Here, in fact, is a history of a Church interpreted in the light of its own Faith. It does not follow that it is therefore tendentious. It may be partial in one sense but impartial in another. "For we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away." (I Cor. 13, v. 9-10.)

Such literature as this may reasonably be regarded as in quite a different category from secular history. All secular or any history reflects to some extent the personality of the historian. For instance, the late Professor Orhan Burian of Ankara University, examining Thomas Goffe's *The Raging Turke*, 1631, and *The Couragious Turke*, 1632, in relation to their source, *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, 1603, by Richard Knolles, quite fairly observes that Knolles was not completely original and that "In his preface he cites as his sources a number of Latin and French authors, while later

scholarship has concluded that he was mainly relying on Boissard. At any rate the synthesis was his and he had the flair to make this synthesis both dramatic and colourful. He does not show the impartiality which we expect from a modern historian. He writes with hatred for the enemies of his faith, yet, true Elizabethan that he was, he seems fascinated by the possibilities of his subject. His theme was the rise of a small nation in three hundred years to an empire without a rival in power and glory. He embellished this theme with all the stories he came across about the ruthlessness of the people and the exotic splendour of their lives."

Some justification for Professor Burian's criticism may be found in the bitter struggles between Christians and Moslems which Goffe dramatises. For example, Burian quotes Goffe as relating how the third Ottoman Sultan, Amurath, (1359), was walking round the battlefield at the close of the day when a wounded Christian "pressing neere unto him, as if he would for honour sake have kissed his feet, suddenly stabbed him in the bottom of his bellie with a short dagger which he had under his soldier's coat: of which wound that great king and conqueror presently died. The name of this man for his courage worthy of eternall memorie, was Miles Cobelitz." (*A Dramatist of Turkish History and His Source: Goffe in the Light of Knolles.* Royal Central Asian Journal, Vol. XL, July-Oct : 1953.)

The Crusades, like the Spanish Inquisition, left a legacy of suspicion and prejudice in men's minds centuries after the events themselves had faded into history. So recently as when the rise of the Young Turks to power had drawn the attention of the West to Turkey, the English writer, G. F. Abbott, began his book in 1909, *Turkey in Transition* in the familiar strain :

"The Revolution has changed Turkey completely," he said with enthusiasm.

"Indeed!" said I, wondering; for I have no great faith in sudden conversions."

"Yes" he repeated, "I was there before the Revolution, and I went there again a few months after the Revolution. The metamorphosis is more than amazing—it is overwhelming!"

'I must go and see for myself,' I said inwardly; and, leaving my corybantic friend, I went straight to my rooms, packed up a few things in a bag or two, picked up a rug and a book or two, and set off."

Interesting and informative as Abbott's observations were, it could hardly be said that he wrote with much understanding or sympathy with the Turkish mentality and aspirations.

Perhaps the first real understanding of a different people was shown by Arnold Toynbee in his book, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, in which he laid the blame for the events at Smyrna, immediately before and during 1922, squarely on the shoulders of the Western statesmen and Lloyd George in particular. Written at the time by one who was personally visiting the country to see things for himself, his work reflected a far more penetrating and impartial understanding of the situation. He himself was free from that sentimentalism, which as he pointed out, had been stimulated in English minds by that brilliant classical scholar, Dr. J. M. Neale, whose translations of the ancient Greek hymns became so popular. It may well have been true that the young clergyman influenced his friend, W. E. Gladstone, and hence the Liberal tradition. Certainly it is true that in Byron and in popular movements since, we have seen the revival of the ancient idea of freeing the Hellenic world from the Turk, with very little knowledge of how either nation has developed since the days of the Crusades.

In these days American and British books, amongst others, are appearing in increasing numbers, with fine illustrations, full of praise and admiration for the modern, progressive Turkey. Some are humorous, some technical, others more general, but all are most sincerely friendly, sympathetic and appreciative.

The writer, too, has lived in Turkey for a number of years, and made many personal friends among the Turkish people. He has come to admire much in their customs and character, and to respect their religion and laws. Indeed, he has often felt that their deeply religious sense of dependence on God is higher than in any other civilised country in which he has been privileged to live. Elsewhere he has found far more irreligion. It is his earnest hope that none of his friends, of

whatever nationality or creed, will be offended by anything they may read in the following pages, even though they do not share the views expressed nor agree with all they find.

This book deals entirely with happenings in the past, except for the final chapter, which it is hoped does full justice to the modern Turkish régime.

It is not the writing of history so much as the making of it which calls for our apology :

" Oh, Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make,
And who with Eden didst devise the Snake;
For all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man
Is blacken'd, Man's Forgiveness give—and take ! "

(Omar Khayyam. *Rubaiyat*. Ed. Fitzgerald, v. 58.)

SAMUEL BIRD.

St. Polycarp's Day, 1956,
Izmir (Smyrna),

CHAPTER I

THE IMPORTANCE OF A NAME

ANATOLIA, "the land where the sun rises," lies beyond the Isles of Greece, and here the clear blue sea runs into a fruitful land of green fields and an azure sky. Here anemones of many hues give their brilliant colours to the renowned Turkish carpet. The carpet is designed from the flowers of the land and its fibres are dyed in their juices. The gulf of Smyrna is surrounded by mountainous ridges and peaks, some, like Nymf Dag, are higher than any in the British Isles. The heights seem to melt into the sky in the summer and are snow-capped in winter. At sunrise and sunset they are as mauve and red as the clouds, and their valleys are full of cherry trees and pomegranates. The Two Brothers, twin peaks, stand at the south-west entrance to the harbour and by various signs foretell the weather. Inland, at the end of the plain, rises the conical shaped Bel Khave, marking the famous Lydian pass from whence came invasions and merchandise from farther East. Still the camel bells sound along this ancient trade route as the caravans bring their dried fruit and wares down to the port.

Just over the hills and beyond Mount Pagus, the castellated ruins of which crown the city, the old inhabitants of Boudjah claim that the poet Byron wrote: "Know ye not the land of the cypress and myrtle?" How little this land has changed since Aristides described it! "The grace which extends over every part like a rainbow and strains the city like a lyre into tenseness harmonious with itself and with its beautiful surroundings, and the brightness which pervades every part and reaches up to heaven, like the glitter of the bronze armour in Homer."

The river Meles seems to have meandered much since Homer dwelt here on her banks, but since time immemorial the storks have come to nest in the cypress and fir trees, the doves have cooed, the lizards basked, and tortoises straddled,

among the vineyards and olive groves of the Bournabat Plain. Through all the years the orange trees, the almond, peach and apricot, the oleanders, Judas trees and rosemary, have blossomed in their seasons. Here abound giant cyclamen, lilies, orchids and many wild flowers. Here swallow-tail butterflies, fritillaries, humming-bird and oleander hawkmoths, are as common as cabbage whites in England. Rollers and bee-catchers flash their brilliant plumage. Lavender and the honey-flower scent the air, and the land is rich in spices.

Nature, however, did not bestow one famous spice. There was one precious spice which was not produced in this part of the East. It consisted of a yellow substance, used as scent by brides and for general household and burial purposes. This domestic perfume was compounded from the gum resin of a small thorny tree, *Balsamodendron Myrrha*, called "Myrrh" by the English, and by the ancient Greeks, "Smyrna."

The historians are, therefore, still at a loss to explain how this beautiful city got its name. "What the ultimate connection, if any, may have been between the name of the city and the ancient Semitic word (spelt 'Môr' in Hebrew and 'Smyrna' in Greek) for the myrrh produced by the Arabian trees *Balsamodrendon* (or *Commiphora*) *Opobalsamum* and *Balsamodendron* (*Commiphora*) *Myrrha*, remains an unsolved mystery." (C. J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna*.)

Strabo suggests that it was the name of the Amazon, figuring on the ancient coins, who founded both Ephesus and Smyrna in the Hittite period, about 2,000 B.C. *An Easy Guide of Izmir*, recently issued by the Köstem Publishing house, Izmir, evidently follows Strabo, for it states that "Izmir is one of the oldest cities of the world. It derives its name from the Amazon called Smyrna. The name is doubtlessly Anatolian, having been applied also to a quarter of Ephesus, to a city in Aeolis, and to a tumulus in the Troad." The epic poet Panyasis makes Smyrna (or Myrrha) the daughter of Theias, son of Belos, King of Assyria, who, as the unhappy mother of the Anatolian Adonis, flees from her enraged father and was changed into a Myrrh-tree, and so gave her name to the city. Theseus has also been acclaimed by Aristides as the founder of Smyrna after the conquest of the

Amazons. That "delightful story-teller of Halicarnassus," Herodotus, affirms that he immortalized his wife by giving the city her name after engaging in the Trojan War. Others suspect some connection with the name of the Hittite king, Murshil, to whose reign the carvings on nearby Mount Sipylos belong. They associate it with the Lydian names "Myrtilos", of the story of the hero Pelops, and "Myrtoön", an ancient name for part of the Aegean Sea. Dr. J. Rendel Harris suggests that the occurrence of the names Smyrna and Adramyttion is a proof that certain Mediterranean sites were, in the pre-Hellenistic period, occupied by South Arabian colonists, who named their settlements sometimes after the places and sometimes after the products of their own homeland (myrrh not being produced at all in western Asia Minor).

However it happened in the dim legendary ages of the World's history that this beautiful city received its name, it is clear that at least since the days of Plutarch the city and the plant invariably bore the same name, for that early writer comments on their identity in his *Sertorius* (I, 3). To claim to have discovered their connection, hitherto "an unsolved mystery", might appear bold, but we can humbly set out to show, without being tendentious, how the destiny of the city, unfolding in its history, points to the ultimate connection between them. Sometimes not the beginning but the end will explain.

Often in the ancient world, names both of places and people had a prophetic or a mystic meaning. We read, for example, in the Old Testament, that "Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham: for a father of many nations have I made thee" (Genesis, XVII, 5). In the New Testament, St. Matthew records that Jesus said, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona . . . thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church" (XVI, 17-18).

The derivation of Jerusalem is "City of Peace". "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem" sang the Psalmist. The Old Testament prophecy foretelling its destiny was perhaps as late as the Greek period; "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold thy King cometh unto thee . . . riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass . . . he shall speak peace . . ." (Zechariah IX, 9-10).

St. John shows its fulfilment; "Fear not, daughter of Zion : behold thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt" (XII, 15). Recognised as the Prince of Peace, as He entered the city riding an ass rather than a war-horse, Jesus speaks "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you : not as the world giveth, give I unto you". (XIV, 27.) And so the ultimate connection between the ancient Semitic word and the city is not to be found by etymologists in the place which was utterly destroyed in A.D. 70 and where wars have ever raged, but by believers in "the Jerusalem which is above" of which St. Paul writes; "the holy city, new Jerusalem," with which St. John the Divine ends his Revelation, and where Divine Peace reigns.

Later generations of Christians saw ever deeper and richer meaning in the visit of the Wise Men from the East to the Christ-child in the manger. Some scholars dismiss the significance they saw in the triple gift of gold and frankincense and myrrh, and the numerous early legends and traditions of their races, names and appearance, as "innocent fancies, only worthy of mention because of their legendary interest, and their bearing on the conceptions of Christian poetry and Christian art" (F. W. Farrar *The Life of Christ*, p. 36). Yet from the early Christians to the present day, the mystical and devotional, as well as the purely historical, element has persisted in the faith and worship of the Church. And so we sing at Epiphany,

"Sacred gifts of mystic meaning,
Incense doth their God disclose,
Gold the King of kings proclaimeth,
Myrrh His sepulchre foreshows".

(Hymns A. & M., 76.)

Indeed, the Christ of history is also the mystic Christ, and the Holy Spirit leads us into all truth, historic, scientific and religious. The facts of history are not necessarily incompatible with their mystic or prophetic interpretation, nor need one aspect of the Truth preclude another. So while it is a matter of history that "when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him : and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and

myrrh" (St. Matthew, II, 11), it remains a fact of opinion, shared by many early Christians, Claudian, Juvencus, Sedulius and others, that myrrh foretold His sacrificial death.

It was inevitable that the forces of evil should rise against goodness, and hatred should oppose perfect love, from the moment Christ entered the world. If it is true that the third Wise Man did not realise the significance of his offering, it is at least certain that the aged prophet Simeon foresaw the consequence which myrrh suggested, for he "said unto Mary His mother, Behold this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against: (yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also), that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed". (St. Luke, II, 34-35.)

History shows that it was not despite, but through, His sufferings that Jesus won victory over Death and every form of evil. When myrrh meant escape from suffering it was not acceptable: "And they gave him to drink wine mingled with myrrh; but he received it not". (St. Mark, XV, 23.) But having made a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, "there came also Nicodemus . . . and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury". (St. John, XIX, 39-40.)

So the very instruments of torture were transmuted into symbols of the victorious Christian Faith. Hence the crown of thorns adorns the brow of the King of kings, whose hands are outstretched in blessing from the Cross. Henceforth this victory, peace and joy are available to all who bear the Cross and follow Him "who in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that he feared; though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered; and being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him". (Hebrews, V, 7-8.)

Myrrh, therefore, foreshadowed the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us men and for our salvation. His foreknowledge of the depth of the suffering which the salvation of mankind demanded, was revealed in His warning

to the sons of Zebedee; "Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of, and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? They say unto Him, we are able and He saith unto them, Ye shall drink indeed of my cup, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with". (St. Matthew, XX, 22-23.)

It follows that it is no mere accident that St. Stephen's Day falls immediately after Christmas Day, for thus the Church teaches how soon the followers of Christ shall meet the enmity of the world. Stephen, proto-martyr, faithfully defended the Faith against the unbelievers. Dr. Ramsay points out the strong probability that some of them were Jews educated in the rhetorical school of Smyrna, as well as Pergamum. In which case amongst those who "ran upon him with one accord" were unbelieving Smyrnaians whose stoning the first Christian to die for Jesus turned into a sacrifice and offering acceptable to God. Doubtless his example prepared the spectator, Saul of Tarsus, for his conversion, for the day when the Lord said "I will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake". (Acts, IX, 16.)

And so God is glorified in His Church when wise men open their treasure and present unto Him their gifts. Some give the gold of their substance, others the frankincense of their devotion, others the myrrh of their martyrdom, "if so be that we suffer with Him, that we may be also glorified together". (Romans, VIII, 17.)

This, then, is the gift of Smyrna. When St. Paul wrote to the Philippians; "*For unto you* it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake", (Philippians, I, 29) he could have added "*And unto Smyrna*". Surely no theologian will bring charges of illegitimate typology against those who draw their own conclusion from the facts that the city was called Smyrna, that the shrub of the same name did not grow there, that at the birth of Christ the latter symbolised sacrifice and from that time a clear and consistent pattern has emerged of suffering and martyrdom.

CHAPTER II

THE DAWN OF CHRISTIANITY

THE first streaks of Western Civilisation dawned in Anatolia. The French in due course called these parts "the Levant" after "the rising" of the Sun. As M. Laumonier, a French archaeologist lecturing at Ankara, expressed it some years ago, "Anatolia is presented to us in fact like a hearth which radiates on the Greek world, European civilisation was born from the Greek, the latter sprang from Ionia, but Ionia is the inheritor of the Hittite East". And in Ionia there is a place where East meets West, brilliant Smyrna, said by some to have been founded by Tantalus, King of Phrygia, about 1500 B.C.

On the road from Sardis to Smyrna, at Magnesia, also to Ephesus, at Nymphaeum, two rock engravings of the thirteenth century B.C. witness the extent of the Hittite Empire which flourished from about 2000 B.C. to 1000 B.C. When their power waned the indigenous peoples of the Western coast were dominated successively by colonies of Achaeans and Eolians, fleeing from the Dorians. They vanquished the Lelegians, who had built the first known fortifications on Mount Pagus. But the two peoples who influenced Smyrna most were the Lydians and the Carians, whose rôle of cultural intermediaries between the East and the West was very ancient. After the fall of the Hittite Empire, the Lydians gradually formed an independent kingdom, with Sardis as their capital, which soon enveloped all the Greek colonies of the coast. Smyrna, which put up the stiffest resistance in Ionia, was totally destroyed by Alyattes about 580 B.C. In 546 B.C., Cyrus, King of Persia, conquered and imprisoned King Croesus of Lydia, and Smyrna fell into the hands of the Persians.

When Alexander the Great invaded Anatolia, the dispersed Smyrnians joined him, and after Darius, King of Persia, had been assassinated and victory won, they asked him to re-build their city. Alexander immediately ordered his generals, Antigonus and Lysimachus, to fulfil this wish, and Smyrna was

reconstructed on Mount Pagus where the Lelegians' citadel had stood. When Alexander died, Antigonus proclaimed himself King of Asia Minor. Lysimachus became King of Thrace. At the Battle of Ipsos, (300 B.C.) Antigonus was killed and the victors shared his territories. Smyrna was given to Lysimachus, who made it the administrative centre of the region, with his treasury at Pergamum.

In the year 281 B.C., Antiochus Soter, King of Syria, of the Seleucid dynasty, took Western Anatolia from Lysimachus and seized Smyrna. Antiochus then made an unfortunate war on the Romans, who, having already conquered Greece, invaded Asia Minor. At the Battle of Magnesia, 191 B.C., they defeated Antiochus, thus putting an end to the Seleucid domination in Western Anatolia. All the cities of Ionia ranged themselves on the side of the Romans, but Smyrna specially distinguished itself by the help it gave. In return for this service, the Emperor raised a temple at Smyrna, and gave it the title of "new city", proclaiming it a free city with autonomy and other privileges.

All the succeeding Roman Emperors rivalled one another to embellish the city, which thus passed into the front rank of the cities of Asia. Smyrna became the proud possessor of a forum, a theatre, a stadium, and straight, paved streets. Under Tiberius, Smyrna was devastated by earthquakes (14-17 A.D.) and under Marcus Aurelius some new earthquakes again destroyed the city (161-177 A.D.). Yet Smyrna was always reconstructed, for these were years of prosperity, luxury and worldly pre-eminence.

The dawn, however, of another era, was again breaking in the East. A new life was to spring up in the city, "and the life was the light of men". "That was the true Light; which lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (St. John, I, 9). Very soon the Light reached Smyrna, and has shone there ever since.

It is possible that during His life-time, tidings of Jesus had been brought by traders along the western sea-board, and probable that the Jews of Asia, who gathered round the Apostles at Pentecost in 30 A.D., numbered some from Smyrna. Who can tell whether there were not already a few believers before 53-56 A.D., before St. Paul's missionary

journeys, and his stay of over two years at Ephesus, resulted in the formation of the church of Smyrna?

At all events, the small church which emerged was drawn mainly from the large Jewish colony, who became increasingly bitter in their opposition to the Christians. After Christ's prophecy that one stone of Jerusalem would not be left standing on another was fulfilled by Vespasian's assault in 70 A.D., the influx of refugees showed the same bitter hostility to the Christians as they had to their Lord.

If the late Canon B. H. Streeter was right in his theory that Aristion, one of the disciples of our Lord, was the first Elder of the church of Smyrna, and wrote the First Epistle of St. Peter, then the words of that epistle are the more significant and relevant to Smyrna: "For this is thankworthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God". (II, 19-20.)

These early Christians had as yet no visible building, but were living stones in the Temple not made with hands. The Roman rulers gave them no more protection than Pontius Pilate had afforded their Lord, and they suffered at the hands of the Jews for similar reasons. Indeed the callous indifference of the Romans grew into fierce persecution as the cult of Emperor-worship increased. For whilst the Jews enjoyed a special concession, by which they were permitted to pray *for* the Emperor in their synagogues, the Christians were not so privileged and were expected to pray *to* him.

The wave of persecution in 64 A.D., which followed Nero's massacre of Christians in Rome, was not the last or most sweeping to pass over Asia Minor. Mgr. C. Lagier remarks; "The effusion of Christian blood is a period of History; it has furnished the Church with her finest witness and the purple of her festivals. Italy, Gaul and Africa together have not paid a tribute of suffering greater than that of the oriental coasts". (*L'Orient Chrétien, des apôtres à Photius, de l'an 33 à l'an 850.* p. VIII).

There appears to be a divergence of opinion as to the authorship and dates of the Fourth Gospel and the

Apocalypse, but it is generally agreed that St. John the Apostle settled at Ephesus either before or after the death of the Virgin Mary. Maybe the Virgin dwelt there too. Some believe he wrote the Gospel there, and some that he was exiled to the Isle of Patmos where he wrote the Revelation. His deep spirituality, and love of Our Lord, enabled St. John to drink of His cup of suffering and be baptized with His baptism.

St. John must often have visited Smyrna, hardly fifty miles distant, and now from his desolate exile he addressed the whole body of Christians in symmetrically designed letters. He selects seven churches for praise, warning or encouragement, of which Smyrna and Philadelphia alone receive unqualified praise.

It was revealed to the visionary that all loyal Christians would need a full measure of the essential Christian virtues to meet the fierce ordeals before them. The Smyrna Christians were the type of those who, having already proved their courage, firmness and faithfulness under persecution from the Jews, were fit to endure the Satanic power of the new oppressor. Such faithfulness would assuredly win a heavenly reward.

The Christians of Smyrna evidently suffered financially, as well as physically, at the hands of "those who styled themselves Jews" but were no longer the people of God, having become the instruments of Satan. When the latter could taunt and insult them no further, they made mischief with the Roman administrators. The Imperial Cult flourished so vigorously in Smyrna that it was never difficult for informers to stir the authorities into action against those who refused to worship "the image". Many were the malicious accusations of sedition of Christians, brought into the courts by the Jews for summary treatment. The outlook was dark for the Christians of Smyrna, because of "the hour of trial which is coming upon the whole world". If, however, they were ready to go to prison or even die for their faith, they would not suffer indefinitely. Moreover, they would win an even higher award than the victor's garlands at the Smyrna stadium, for they would be crowned with life.

So the saint, himself suffering "for the word of God, and

for the testimony of Jesus Christ ", thinks of his brethren over the sea and sends messages to them from " Him who holds the keys of hell and of death ".

" And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna write; These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive; I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty (but thou art rich) and I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan. Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer : behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days : be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; he that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death ". (Revelation, II, 8-11.)

The apocryphal *Acts of John* tells us that after the Emperor Domitian was killed in 96 A.D., the Apostle returned from exile, and at the request of the Smyrnaian citizens (not only the church) he visited and preached to them. Perhaps it was to this period that Irenaeus refers when he tells us that Polycarp, at whose feet he sat as a youth, had " not only been made a disciple by Apostles, and had associated with many who had seen the Lord, but was also appointed by Apostles Bishop in the church at Smyrna in Asia ".

The slave-boy, destined to become the great father of the early Church, came to Smyrna about 80-85 A.D. His parents had been Christian gentiles, probably in the Holy Land. Pionios relates that a Christian lady of means, named Kallisto, had a dream in which she was told to go to the Ephesian gate and find the boy in charge of two men. Her dream came true. She purchased young Polycarp for her household and brought him up in the Christian Faith. Like Joseph in Egypt, he rose to be chief steward through sheer ability, and won the maternal affection of his mistress by his piety. She ultimately bequeathed to him a considerable estate.

Freedom from pecuniary bondage left Polycarp free to pursue his favourite study of the Sacred writings, and to follow a simple ascetic life in Smyrna, preferably in its quieter suburbs. As his reputation for Christian service increased, he became generally recognised as a spiritual leader. It was because

he was a saint, rather than a scholar, that Polycarp became an expert in religion. And so he seemed to be the natural choice as the next bishop, and when in due course the authority and supernatural gifts were bestowed upon him for that high office, Polycarp became a true Father-in-God to the Smyrnaians. He had just the qualities needed to vindicate the Christian religion in a hostile world, and many were the legends told, and miraculous acts attributed to him, after the persecutions had passed.

Two events in Polycarp's life are of more than historic importance. The first was a visit, for it happened that about the year 115 A.D., a Roman detachment was conducting some Christian prisoners to Rome. On their arrival they were to be thrown to the wild beasts in the arena. It was decided to halt en route at Smyrna. Amongst them moved the saintly and aged figure of the Bishop of Syrian Antioch, Ignatius. The unarmed prisoners were allowed free communication. Messages were therefore sent in advance to all the neighbouring cities, to Ephesus, Magnesia and Tralles, to send representatives to meet them at Smyrna. Ignatius was received by many bishops and church leaders led by Polycarp, with whom he formed an immediate and strong friendship. Joyous fellowship with the Smyrnaian church lasted many days.

During this time Ignatius wrote to the Roman church imploring their more influential members to do nothing, however well-intentioned, which might rob him of the martyr's crown. He goes on to say "From Syria to Rome, by land and sea, night and day, I am 'fighting with beasts', being chained to ten leopards—that is, a maniple of soldiers, who become worse the more generously they are treated. However, through their injuries I am made more of a disciple 'yet I am not justified by that' . . . My spirit greets you, and the love of the churches who have received me in the name of Jesus Christ, not as a passer by; for even those which did not lie on my route . . . went before me from city to city . . . now I write this to you from Smyrna . . ." From Smyrna also, Ignatius wrote the celebrated letters to the three other churches for their leaders to take back.

It is probable that Ignatius was now taken by the sea route and Polycarp bade him farewell at the harbour. At all

events, when the prisoners reached Troas, Ignatius found time to write three more important letters revealing his tense and passionate nature to the church at Philadelphia, to the church at Smyrna, and to Polycarp.

Ignatius' letter to the church at Smyrna shows its character and problems. From its character and subsequent history we may be sure it overcame the problems besetting it, for so writes "Ignatius, who is also Theophoros to the church of God the Father and Jesus Christ the beloved, the church mercifully endowed with every gracious gift, filled with faith and love, lacking in no gracious gift, most godly, and bearer of holy things, the church which is at Smyrna in Asia, hearty greetings in a flawless spirit and with the word of God. I glorify Jesus Christ, the God who has made you so wise; for I perceived that ye had been equipped with immovable faith, as if nailed on the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, both in flesh and in spirit, and firmly fixed in love by the blood of Christ . . ."

No one knew better than the Smyrnaians the reality of the suffering both of their Saviour and themselves for His sake, despite the heresy of the Docetists who taught that Our Lord suffered in appearance only. And so the epistle reminds them that the Lord Jesus was "truly nailed up on our behalf in the flesh under Pontius Pilate and Herod the Tetrarch —from which fruit come we, from his divinely-blessed passion —in order that he might raise a standard for all ages, by means of the resurrection, for his saints and believers, whether among Jews or among Gentiles, in the one body of His Church. For all this did He suffer for our sakes, that we might be saved. And truly did He suffer, as also truly did He raise Himself up: not as some unbelievers say, that He suffered in appearance only . . . I give you these exhortations, beloved, knowing that ye also are so minded. But I am protecting you in advance against the wild beasts in human shape, whom ye must not only not receive, but if possible not even meet with: only pray for them, if perchance they may repent, which is difficult; yet Jesus Christ, our real life, has power to effect this. For if these things were done by our Lord only in appearance, I too have been bound in appearance only. And why have I given myself up in surrender to death—for

fire, for sword, for wild beasts? But near the sword is to be near God; to be in company with wild beasts is to be in company with God—but only if it be in the name of Jesus Christ. And so I endure all things in order to suffer with Him, the perfect man Himself empowering me”.

No finer example could have been given, if any were needed, to the local church as typical of Christians everywhere, of how to suffer for Jesus' sake, than by these great leaders. In his letter to Polycarp, Ignatius writes, “Stand firm, like a smitten anvil. It is the part of a great athlete to be struck and yet to win. But especially for God's sake must we endure all things, in order that He in His turn may endure us . . . and for our sakes became subject to suffering, who endured in every way for our sakes”. Polycarp did not fail his friend.

Further letters were received from Philippi, whence Ignatius wrote to Polycarp, asking him to forward an enclosed letter to Antioch. Writing to acknowledge them and send copies of other letters as requested, Polycarp observes that “they contain faith and endurance and all edification such as befits our Lord”. Again, Polycarp exhorts the Philippians “I beseech you, obey the word of justice, be patient, be like those whom your eyes have seen as examples, follow their footsteps, not only of Ignatius, of Zosimus, of Rufus, but also of the others of our families”.

The Emperor Hadrian (117 A.D.—138 A.D.) lavished generous grants on Smyrna for public buildings and embellishments. Paganism became popular amongst the Gentiles, whose hostility to the Christians grew in proportion. The faith of the Christians shone the brighter amidst the encircling gloom, and when menaced from every side, Irenaeus (“the peaceful”) was born in their midst.

Irenaeus, fostered by Polycarp, recalls in his letters how he could still see the place in Smyrna where Polycarp preached the Word. He tells how he had conversed with John, the beloved disciple, and others who had seen the Lord. For he was one of the missionaries who went forth from Smyrna in the reign of the Caesars, Nero, Domitian and Trajan, and established the first churches along the Rhone and the Saone.

Marcus Aurelius being Emperor, Pothinus, a Phrygian,

was tortured and died in prison when ninety years old. Polycarp, perhaps encouraged by Anicetus, Bishop of Rome, sent Irenaeus, the Lydian, to take charge of the apostolate in Gaul. Irenaeus succeeded the bishop and was himself martyred about 200 B.C. Mgr. C. Lagier writes; "One cannot mention the name of this great Catholic city of Lyons without recalling, at the same time, a superb drama and three glorious personalities. The drama was the massacre, dreadful for the butchers, magnificent for the victims, inflicted, in the year 177 on the Christians of Lyons. And the three persons who have left their mark on this Christianity are Bishop Pothinus, Bishop Irenaeus, both Greeks, and then Blandina, the young girl whose courage in the bloody arena was not less. Let us repeat, the two illustrious prelates came from Smyrna. They worked in Gaul as ambassadors of their Church of Asia". (*Supra*, p. 32.)

The light of the Gospel was steadily spreading westwards, and the historian records that: "During this time (the first two centuries) some Asiatic architects built the first churches of the Gauls, strongly resembling, by the blood poured out, those of Smyrna and Antioch, their mothers. The East came into the valley of the Rhône, in order to sow there superbly the spiritual ideas of the Gospel, and the sowers thus made of our land a first-born daughter in Catholicism; Christian Gaul will never forget her Eastern origins". (*Supra*, p. 42.)

At the age of eighty-five the venerable Bishop of Smyrna paid a visit to Anicetus, Bishop of Rome, to try to settle the difference existing between the Eastern and Western dates for Easter. He was well received and made a great impression, although they did not reach any agreement on the particular question under discussion. He returned shortly before the League-Festival of the Province was due to be held in Smyrna, in the year 155 A.D.

The Emperor Antoninus Pius was personally represented by the Proconsul, and the High-Priest of Asia was the President of the huge and vociferous crowds which assembled at the Stadium. At one moment they would cheer at the contests, at another they would burst into praise of the Emperor. The populace were not content with sacrificing to the image themselves, but demanded that others must do likewise. They

remembered the Christians, who were not exempt like the Jews. The occasion afforded great opportunity for the enemies of Christians to incite and prompt the masses. They were not slow to take it. A number of Christians were seized. Polycarp's writings were publicly burnt, and he himself withdrew to a farm a little way out in the country, where he spent his time in continuous prayer for the Church. And they needed his prayers since, refusing to sacrifice to the Emperor, they were scourged in the Stadium, branded with fire, laid on spiky shells and thrown to the wild beasts in the arena. Some gave way, but the majority bravely endured the fury of the mob, who yelled "Away with the atheists".

Eleven Christians from Philadelphia had just been martyred. As the last, Germanicus, lay dying on the sand, a few cried out "Let's find Polycarp". The mob took up the cry, "We want Polycarp". Cavalry set out post haste to arrest the Bishop. On being forewarned he refused to fly, saying "Let God's will be done". Calmly he received them, and impressed by the serene bearing of the aged saint, the rough soldiers accepted his hospitality for the night and allowed him to pray aloud in their presence for two hours before starting next morning. As he rode an ass to Smyrna, the Chief Justice met him, took him into his carriage and tried to make him recant. As he refused, the soldiers led him straight into the Stadium before the Proconsul, amidst the howls of the huge crowd.

Successively the Proconsul tried "brow-beating", persuading and threatening the victim, but nothing could shake his steadfast faith. The mob were crying for one of the two penalties reserved for persons of humble rank, who confessed themselves to be Christians, to be immediately applied. The Proconsul seemed powerless to resist their demands and called on the High Priest to let loose a lion. This, however, could not be done as the beast-fights were over, and so the mob themselves rushed for timber (especially the Jews) and prepared a large fire.

They were about to nail him by the hands to the post amid the fuel, when the aged saint declared, "Leave me as I am; for He who has given me power to endure the fire will also give me power to remain untroubled at the pyre". So he was just tied to the post. Looking up to heaven, he prayed :

"O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by means of whom we have received our knowledge of Thyself the God of angels and powers and all creation and the whole race of the just who live before Thee, I bless Thee that Thou hast counted me worthy of this day and hour, so that I may take a share along with the martyrs in the Cup of Thy Christ, unto the Resurrection—through the incorruption of the Holy Spirit—of both soul and body into eternal life. May I be welcomed among them before Thee to-day as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as Thou, the true God who liest not, has prepared and revealed beforehand and brought to fulfilment. On this account and for all things I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, through the eternal and heavenly High-Priest Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, by means of Whom may be glory to Thee with Him in the Holy Spirit, both now and throughout the coming ages! Amen".

When the fire was kindled, the flames, blown away by the wind, over-arched his body. This was believed to be miraculous, and the infuriated pagans sent in a beast-slaughterer to stab him. The out-pouring of his blood extinguished the fire, which again was believed to be a miracle or sign.

After St. Polycarp's death, the Jews created a dispute over his body. The impatient centurion forthwith had it thrown on the fire and reduced to ashes. When the crowd had dispersed, the Christians collected these remains and reverently removed them to a secret place of repose.

A request soon came from distant Phrygia for an account of the martyrdom, and one Markion sent them an encyclical on behalf of "the church of God which sojourns at Smyrna, to all the communities of the holy and catholic Church in every place". He praised all the martyrs but especially Polycarp. He reported that Polycarp was lauded everywhere, even by the pagans, who were smitten with remorse.

The persecution of Christians immediately subsided after the martyrdom of St. Polycarp and the Emperor Antoninus Pius issued a rescript forbidding tumultuous disturbances against the Christians. It was, however, only a short respite, for when Marcus Aurelius succeeded to the Imperial throne, the campaign against those who refused to worship him or his gods was intensified.

In 162 A.D., Bishop Thraseus of Phrygia was martyred when he came to Smyrna, nor was this an isolated example of Christian sacrifice. To add to their sufferings the church of Smyrna endured the severe earthquake of 177-178 A.D., which laid the city in ruins. But with the close of the century, the open attacks on Christians abated and Severus, concerned by their steadily increasing numbers, contented himself with making conversions illegal.

This period of comparative ease brought the usual spiritual dangers in its train. It seems that the Church became rather lax and her members given to compromise their principles with the State. Even their Bishop was more anxious to win the favour of the State than of God. Thus, when Decius rose to power and resolved to stamp out Christianity throughout the Empire, apostasy on a considerable scale did great damage to the Church.

Euktemon, Bishop of Smyrna, made an unconditional surrender to the Government, and obeyed its laws. He brought a lamb into the Nemeseion, and crowned with the garland of the State religion in the presence of their pagan priest Lepidus, he offered the sacrifice to the Roman gods. The Bishop ate of the flesh, swore by the Emperor's Fortune and the Nemesis that he was no Christian, and claimed to have given better proof than most of his flock of his apostasy. He further suggested to Lepidus that the faithful Pionios and his companions should be compelled to submit.

The church of Smyrna might well have fallen under the crushing demands of the State and the example of their bishop, whom many followed. But the action of their most faithful members, led by Pionios, preserved her honour and life. Whether Pionios compiled the *Life of Polycarp* remains an open question, but at all events he was his great admirer, and lived and died in the same spirit and tradition. Unmarried, well-travelled, with a reputation as a teacher and preacher, strong in mind and body, strong in the faith, Pionios was in the prime of life when called to his trial.

Foreseeing the trend of events, Pionios adorned himself and his two companions with ropes, to show the pagans that they, at least, were prepared to go to prison rather than

yield. Sabina, a slave-girl whom he had sheltered from a persecuting mistress, and Asklepiades, a man of diminutive stature, after partaking of the Eucharist, stood by Pionios. Polemon, the Temple-Warden, called as expected to conduct them to the market-place. There, before a gathering crowd, he cajoled him : "Pionios, it is best that ye should obey like everyone else, and sacrifice so that ye may not get punished ". To which Pionios replied with a long and eloquent speech, beginning "Ye men who boast about Smyrna's beauty, who revere Homer, as ye say, at the Meles, and those Jews who are present among you, listen to me as I discourse a little to you. For I hear that, laughing and rejoicing as ye do over the deserters, ye regard their failure as a joke, because they sacrifice willingly. But . . ." The gist of his argument was that salvation could only be attained, in the present situation, through suffering. "But if ", he continued, "as righteous men (we should suffer) what hope have *ye* when the righteous suffer? "

The speech was favourably received by the public, which admired his courage in openly telling Polemon "We do not worship your gods, and we do not bow down to the golden image ". In fact, so deeply had the faithful few impressed the multitude, that they clamoured for a further hearing in the Assembly Theatre. This, however, the authorities would not risk, and after cross-examining them, they sent them back to prison.

Seventeen days were spent entirely in prison, with the exception of one more visit to the market-place. There they found others imprisoned for their faith. They received visits from many enquirers, including a large number of the lapsed, all of whom received strength and inspiration from Pionios. The remainder of the time Pionios spent in compiling his most useful record, and in prayer and study of the Scriptures.

The situation was getting out of hand and, encouraged by Bishop Euktemon, the State authorities sent constables to drag the Christians out to the Agora. There the garlanded Bishop and the pagan priest Lepidus, questioned and threatened them, but they could not compel Pionios, Sabina and Asklepiades to submit. Feeling was running high and they were roughly thrown back into prison.

The Proconsul arrived from Ephesus and formally opened proceedings against Pionios as ringleader, the others being left in prison. The usual lawyer's catch-questions were put to him, and when he refused to answer, the Proconsul ordered him to be strung up that his flesh might be torn with iron claws. The lacerations were alternated with further appeals, but Pionios succumbed to neither. After formal and pompous legal consultation with the bench of assessors, the Proconsul, whose patience was exhausted, pronounced the sentence : " Since Pionios has confessed himself to being a Christian, we have ordered him to be burnt alive".

The Police Chief led Pionios willingly to the stake awaiting him in the Stadium. The victim willingly lay down and allowed the soldiers to nail him to the stake, which was then raised upright and placed in a hole. Another condemned Christian, Metrodorus, was treated likewise. The fuel was piled at their feet and lit. Death was not prolonged. Pionios, whose athletic form appeared like a bronzed victor of the games, died with a prayer on his lips and joy in his eyes.

The pendulum of public opinion now swung with revulsion at such judicial murders, and the church of Smyrna emerged, as gold purified in the furnace, to enjoy another respite from persecution. Not until the last great effort of the Emperors to destroy Christianity, in the reign of Diocletian, were the Christians seriously molested. Then a certain Dioskorides was brought before the Governor of Smyrna, and confessed to being a Christian. He was imprisoned, cross-examined and finally executed at the Governor's command. No doubt others suffered too, for the same reason. But the Cross, to which they had joined their sufferings, was seen in the sky by Constantine before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, and in this sign he conquered.

So respite from Imperial persecution came at length for the Church, which now had a Christian Emperor. Eutykhios, Bishop of Smyrna, was able to proceed to the General Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D., where he represented the Smyrnaians in the more peaceful, and no less important, pursuit of doctrinal definition.

CHAPTER III

NOT PEACE BUT A SWORD

WHEN Jesus sent forth His Apostles, He forewarned them : " And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles . . . and ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake ". But He also encouraged them; " Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul . . . Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword . . . he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me ". (St. Matthew, X.)

The Edict of Milan, 313, by which the Emperor Constantine gave freedom to the Christians, was followed by a period known to historians as " the Peace of the Church ". Smyrna, however, was in the vanguard of those who were to learn from experience our Lord's distinction between " peace " as the historians use the word and " peace " " not as the world giveth ". It was true that the Imperial persecutions had ceased, and by the adoption of Christianity as the State religion the Diocese of Smyrna had become an integral part of the Empire, but beneath the surface the seeds of disruptive and hostile forces were germinating, and threatening the harmony of the new régime.

Yet for many years no troubles were apparent, and Smyrna maintained a succession of Greek bishops, whose names are about all that history records. They may be likened to St. Matthias, who, taking the place of Judas Iscariot, was numbered amongst the apostles and mentioned no more. They were doubtless like innumerable clergy, of whose ordinations the world hears but whose faithful ministry is unobtrusive, of whom St. Matthias may be regarded as the patron saint. These Greek bishops were from the first national leaders. It is known that by the time of Justinian, conforming to the Imperial legislation, the notable citizens, the clergy and the Metropolitan, or the Patriarch, gathered together for their

election. The Emperor's wishes decided the voting, especially when it concerned an important see like Smyrna, Ephesus, Nicomedia or the capital. This practice sheds an interesting side-light on the nature of the Byzantine Church from the earliest times.

When Theodosius succeeded Constantine in 395 A.D., the Empire was divided into Western and Eastern States. Naturally Smyrna formed part of the Eastern Empire. Whilst the Western Empire was to last for only 81 years before falling to the barbarian invaders, the Eastern Empire was to endure for 1123 years. Smyrna was destined to bear the brunt of successive invasions long before the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The political division accentuated the internal differences between the Western and Eastern Churches, apparent even before the Council of Nicaea, and the ecclesiastical divisions exposed the simple believers at Smyrna to further suffering in the years ahead.

For over a century, however, the internal dissensions and external attacks did not become acute, and the church of Smyrna was able to consolidate, increase steadily in numbers, and gather strength for the spiritual warfare to come. Many church buildings were erected of which, despite successive earthquakes, fires and despoliation, traces still remain.

Early in the Fifth Century, the Huns, more destructive than the locust, were sweeping down from the North and destroying whatever lay in their way. Their incursions into the cradle of civilisation became more frequent. Finding Constantinople impregnable, the barbarians by-passed the capital and made a ferocious irruption into Asia Minor. In 440 A.D., King Attila conquered Smyrna but did not occupy the city. It was typical of these marauders of the Graeco-Roman world, that their hordes did not settle, or reconstruct the devastated areas, but returned, leaving merely a trail of destruction. The Byzantine rule was then resumed in the city.

The attacks of barbarians from the North were soon succeeded by incursions from the East. The adherents of Islam multiplied after the death of their prophet Mohammed at Medina on 7th June, 632 A.D. Issuing from the deserts of Arabia, the followers of this new religion, which owed so much to Judaism and Christianity, were resolved to spread it

by the sword. Many Arabs made the occasion an opportunity for piracy.

From 673 to 677 A.D., the ships of Moawiah filled the sea of Marmara, but were successfully repelled. In 695 A.D., Smyrna was twice captured and occupied for some time by piratical Arabs, who showed no mercy on the Christian citizens. The Smyrnaians afterwards successfully beat off desultory raiders, only to fall into the hands of Phocas, about 989 A.D., when he led a revolt against the Emperor of Byzantium.

Meanwhile divergences were widening between the Eastern and the Western Churches, and in 850 A.D., they separated. Despite all efforts and the prayers of the faithful for unity, they failed to reach agreement and in 1054 A.D., the Great Schism was confirmed. Henceforth the Diocese of Smyrna, formerly subject to Ephesus, became autocephalous, with jurisdiction over the bishoprics of Phocaea, Magnesia, Clazomenae, Archangelos, Petra and Sosandros. The latter, according to Sir William Ramsay, was probably Nymphaion, Nif, now known as Kemalpaşa. The simple Smyrnaian believers were victims of political and ecclesiastical differences beyond their control, which must often have caused them anxiety and pain.

At the same time tension was growing between the Eastern and Western States. Too often in the past their conflicts have been misrepresented as a straight issue between two rival religions. Historians of all nationalities are now, however, agreed that this is to over-simplify the situation. Motives were mixed, and the Crusaders themselves were by no means blind to the opportunities for adventure, conquest and plunder, which the Crusades afforded. Moreover, just as in the Middle Ages, wars of conquest were common all over Europe, and rival dynasties rose and fell, so it was too in the East. The most bloody and fierce wars in the West were the "religious" wars, which were never entirely unrelated to political, economic and other considerations. It must be remembered that these were dark and uncivilised times. It is grossly unfair, therefore, for those who idealise the Crusaders to point to the ruthlessness of their opponents, and to forget that in every country in Europe, the torture-chamber, massacres,

assassinations and treachery were all too common, and that the ostensible motive was usually religion.

The Arabs were but precursors of a more formidable wave of invaders gathering impetus in the East. The beginning of the Eleventh Century saw the Oguz Turks rise to power in Asia Minor under the Seldjoukian dynasty. This dynasty had founded a powerful empire extending from Bey in Persia. On 29th August, 1071, Sultan Alp-Arslan won a great victory at Malazgirt and established the Turks in the Byzantine Empire, from which they were never dislodged. Suleyman, son of Kutulmuz, carried forward his conquests from Kizilirmark, and taking possession of central and western Anatolia, captured Smyrna in 1076. In 1084, a Turkish pirate named Zachas, with his motley crew, seized Smyrna and declared himself king.

In 1097, the Emperor Alexis Comnenos entrusted to his brother-in-law, John Ducas, the command of an army instructed to re-capture the Aegean coast from the Turks. This Imperial army set forth from Abydos and, supported by a fleet, recaptured the Isles of Rhodes and Chios. They then proceeded to the sea-board and regained Ephesus and Smyrna, but only after killing ten thousand of her citizens. Following up their victories, they marched inland and drove the Turks out of Sardis.

Subsequently, the Emperor gave Smyrna what protection he could, by restoring the castle on Mount Pagus, by fortifying the city and warding off pirates and invaders until the arrival of the Crusaders. Nevertheless, due to its geographical position, it was inevitable that Smyrna should become a battle-field. There is still a part of Smyrna, to-day a suburb across the Gulf, which until 1922, was called Cordelio. The local tradition is that Richard Coeur de Lion, King of England, landed there, hence the corruption of his name. At all events, it is certain that King Louis VII of France visited Smyrna about Christmas time in 1147 A.D.

Meanwhile the counter-attack of the Byzantine soldiers drove the Seldjoukian Turks further into the interior, and Sultan Mes'ud Büknüd-Din removed his capital to Konya. Mes'ud resolved, all the same, to regain the western provinces of Anatolia, and set forth on an expedition. His march on

Smyrna was intercepted by the arrival of the Second Crusade, and fierce fighting ensued. The Sultan died in 1156, without any decisive results in the growing struggles.

The term "infidel" was in these rude days used by Christians to describe Moslems, who called Christian "giaours" which had exactly the same meaning. Both were, in fact, faithful to what they believed to be the true faith, and so were described as "unfaithful", "unbelievers", by the other. Hence these terms, which no enlightened Christian, Moslem or adherent of any of the other great world religions, would dream of using to-day, were as a matter of history in common usage hundreds of years ago. They are, therefore, used in these pages only in their historical context.

The Third Crusade, led by the German Emperor Frederic Barberossa, crossed Anatolia. The Crusaders suffered heavy casualties from the sniping and ambushes of irregular Turkish bands. Barberossa was drowned while bathing in the Tarsus or the Ermene, and the Crusaders withdrew, leaving Smyrna again exposed to the invaders.

Pope Innocent III decided to launch a Fourth Crusade in 1200 A.D., The results were tragic, for the Roman Catholic crusaders showed no desire to face the courageous Turks and the rigours of Anatolia. Instead, the unfortunate rivalry between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches had not been diminished by their common danger, and the latter were taking full advantage of their brethren's request for help. They hired some Venetian ships and after desultory campaigning in Venetia, they sailed to Constantinople, sacked and pillaged the churches and set fire to part of the city. So the Fourth Crusade ended with the founding of a Latin Empire at Constantinople in 1204 A.D., which lasted until 1261 A.D.

Thus Smyrna came under the domination of the Emperors of Nicaea. One of them, the Emperor John Vatatzes, devoted much labour to strengthening and reconstructing the citadel on Mount Pagus. He showed much sympathy for the Smyrnaian Christians, and it is to his credit that, at Nimpio in 1232, he made valiant though unsuccessful efforts to bring about the re-union of the Churches.

In 1261, Michael Paléologos made an alliance with the

Genoese and delivered Constantinople from the Latin rulers. He thereupon became Emperor of the restored Byzantine Empire, which was to last till the fall of Constantinople. By the Treaty of Alliance, the Emperor Paléologos granted special privileges to the Genoese. He authorised them to settle at Smyrna on condition that there they recognised the authority of the Greek Metropolitan. The new colony were diligent traders and embellished Mount Pagus, but by the end of century they were obliged to withdraw before further invasions.

The power of the Byzantine Empire was on the wane, and the Seldjouk régime was also declining. Other Turkish leaders were rising. Meanwhile, dread of the irresistible Mogul conquerors was in all hearts. The Seldjouks were decisively beaten at the Battle of Kösedag in 1243, and submitted to the authority of the Moguls. The Mohammedan Mongols, or Moguls, after over-running Central and Western Asia, arrived in 1219, under Ghengis Khan, on the frontiers of India, but did not cross the Indus. News of these short squat warriors, described by their enemies as men "with slit eyes and snouts like pigs", who could ride great distances and then fight without seeming to tire, followed the trade routes to Smyrna. Racial cousins of the Tartars, their reputation spread horror, fear and gloom as they advanced under Tamerlane the Terrible (or Timur). This last monarch of the Taghlak line, burst into India at the head of a mighty horde, captured and sacked Delhi in 1398, and laid waste a great part of Hindustan. Their Empire was expanding from the Gobi Desert in all directions.

Nearer Smyrna, during this time, other movements were taking place. Jean Paléologos, brother of the Emperor Michael, for some time resisted the invasion of the Turkish Princes, but in 1279, the latter conquered all the provinces of the North-West and West, including the sea-board from the Marmara to the Aegean Sea. In 1300, the Prince of Mentese sent a fleet to conquer Rhodes, which remained ten years under his domination. About the same time Sasa Bey seized Magnesia, Pergamum, and Ephesus. Acclaimed as the first Ottoman Sultan, Aïdin-Amir appeared in Lydia and took possession of Tralles, which he made his headquarters

and re-named Aïdin. In the same year he advanced on Smyrna, which he besieged, and after its capitulation nominated his son, Umur, as governor.

When Umur Bey succeeded to the throne of Aïdin, he made Smyrna his stronghold, re-inforced his navy at Ephesus, and began to attack the Isles of the Archipelago. Confronted with this new menace, Pope Clement VI preached the Fifth Crusade. There was, however, little enthusiasm amongst the impoverished and war-weary Western nations, and the response was poor. Amongst the crowned heads of Europe only Humbert II, the last Dauphin of Austria, responded to the appeal. The Knights of Rhodes, nevertheless, saw a good opportunity for re-capturing Smyrna for the Christians while Umur Bey was away on a coastal expedition, spreading Islam by the sword. This Order of Knights Hospitaller had been founded in 1084 at Jerusalem for the express purpose of fighting against the infidels, and were driven successively from the Holy Land to Ephesus, Rhodes and finally Malta.

In 1344, twenty-seven galleys set sail with a Papal Army, blessed by Pope Clement VI. Called "the Crusade of the Isles", this was really the Crusade of Smyrna. The fleet sailed the Aegean Sea and routed the Turkish pirates at Mitylene. The Galleys then entered the Gulf of Smyrna. The Christians had little difficulty in occupying the great rocky castle by the sea-side. They re-named the castle "Saint Peter", and made it the base of their operations. Umur Bey hastened back too late to dislodge the Crusaders, and was obliged to withdraw to his fortress on Mount Pagus.

While the Turks held the surrounding heights, the lower parts of the city remained firmly in the hands of the Crusaders, for a period of fifty-seven years. Incidentally this was exactly the number of years of the Crusades at Constantinople, and because Smyrna was occupied by the Papal Forces at the time it was called "the city of the Pope". The Smyrnaians now had to look to the Popes for deliverance from the rule of the Sultans. Many accepted the leadership of the Roman bishops, the first of whom was appointed to Smyrna in 1346. Nine Latin bishops succeeded him until the year 1655.

The Christians had several reverses. On one occasion Umer Bey resorted to a stratagem. He pretended to retreat.

The elated Christians, instead of pursuing the Turks, went to offer their thanksgiving for victory. The Roman Patriarch of Constantinople, sent by the Pope, was leading the prayers of the great multitude which thronged into the Cathedral, near St. Peter's Castle. Whilst all the people were intent on the service, Umer Bey and his soldiers returned stealthily, surrounded the Cathedral, and fell upon the unarmed worshippers. Among the massacred Christians was the Roman Patriarch himself. The church was desecrated and the ornaments destroyed. When this news reached the Pope, he commissioned a Dominican, Le Bienhereux Venturino de Bergamo to inspire an expedition known as "the holy union". This courageous and saintly leader himself died at Smyrna on the eve of their victory.

The Dauphin of Austria, at the head of 3,300 bowmen and 700 cavalry, engaged the Turks at Adramyttium. At the foot of Mount Ida, they killed several thousand of the enemy, and so restored Smyrna to the Christians.

In 1347, Humbert's wife fell ill and died. Suffering from ill-health himself, he therefore returned to his estates in the spring. Umer Bey, deeming the moment opportune, mustered his navy at Ephesus and attacked the Isle of Imbros. The expedition failed, and so the Knights Hospitallers, who occupied St. Peter's Castle and were weary of the prolonged struggles, took this opportunity of entering into peace negotiations with Umer Bey and Hizir Bey in 1347.

The Pope found the terms, involving the surrender of Smyrna, quite unacceptable, and in February, 1348, refused to ratify the Treaty. Umur Bey thereupon determined to take the city or die in the attempt. In March, 1348, he concentrated all his forces, filled the moats, erected scaling ladders and ordered a general assault. Himself fighting in the front rank, Umur Bey was scaling a ladder when he raised his head a moment to calculate the distance to climb. He half-opened his visor, and straightway receiving an arrow between his eyes, fell dead at the foot of the ladder. In despair, the Turks raised the siege and withdrew.

Umur's brother, Hizir Bey, who succeeded him on the throne of Aidin, had no desire to carry on the campaign. On 18th April, 1348, he signed a treaty with the Christians which

was much in their favour and included many concessions for them. The Pope ratified this treaty in 1350. Under its provisions Hizir Bey retained the throne of Aïdin, and the heights of Smyrna remained in his territory, but the harbour and all its commerce, upon which the prosperity of the city depended, became the monopoly of the Latins, the Venetians and the Genoese. The Byzantine element was for the time being subdued and negligible.

Hizir Bey's otherwise uneventful reign ended in 1360, when his son Isa Bey succeeded him and had to recognise the sovereignty of the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid I. And so after the death of Umur Bey, Smyrna remained for fifty-seven years under two régimes. Both Murad I, and afterwards his son Bayazid I, attacked Smyrna. The latter blockaded the city from the sea for seven years, but failed to dislodge the Latin community.

At last the long-dreaded conqueror, Tamerlane the Terrible, whose armies of 500,000 Mongols had for twenty years subdued the East from Afghanistan to Egypt with unrelenting energy, was turning towards Smyrna. In 1402, in perhaps the greatest battle in Turkish history, Tamerlane defeated Bayazid I at Ankara, and took him prisoner. He then sent out several armies to seize various regions in Western Anatolia. The same year Mirza Mehmet Sultan, grandson of Tamerlane, established his winter quarters at Magnesia. Before the end of the year Tamerlane himself headed the western invasion, and moving up the coast, he by-passed Ephesus and drew up his massive army of Tartars before the city of Smyrna. On 1st December, 1402, Tamerlane the Terrible laid siege to Smyrna.

At first Tamerlane sent a herald to the Knights of Rhodes, summoning them to embrace the Mohammedan religion or to pay heavy tribute, and threatening them with death if they refused. The Knights rejected the ultimatum. Thereupon Tamerlane ordered some huge blocks of stone to be cast into the entrance to the harbour, which was formed by a channel, held by two dikes, leading in from the sea. He thus closed the harbour from access from the sea. The sailors manning the galleys belonging to the Knights of Rhodes, had been shrewd enough to take to the open sea before sunrise, for

otherwise they would have been set on fire. The invaders then closed in from three sides on the fortress of St. Peter, which was the last stronghold of the Smyrnaians.

Despite torrential rain, the battle never relaxed by day or night. The defenders fought heroically against a continuous assault. But on 17th December, 1402, after a siege lasting fifteen days, Tamerlane commanded every man of his vast army to throw a large stone simultaneously against the defenders. The surprise shower of many thousands of missiles wrought such havoc that the besiegers were able quickly to follow up their advantage, scale the walls, and capture the fortress. The Knights fought their way to the sea, where they were received by their galleys. The Smyrnaian warriors who had given their support to the Knights, tried to swarm on to the ships, but the sailors repulsed them. These unfortunate Christians were thus left to their fate.

More than a thousand of the vanquished Christians were led before Tamerlane, and were all promptly massacred. The conqueror ordered that several pyramids should be erected with their decapitated heads, while taking care to place their skulls between the stones of the citadel to replace the latter. On the day after these bloody events, some Christian frigates arrived too late to relieve the city. When they approached the shore, Tamerlane ordered some human heads to be thrown on to their decks. At the sight of these hideous remains, the crews were seized with terror and fled for the open sea.

Finally, putting to the sword every Christian man, woman or child, he could find in Smyrna, Tamerlane sacked and burnt the city, left it in charge of Kineil, of the Ottoman dynasty of the Djouneids, and returned to his capital.

After the departure of Tamerlane the Terrible, and the death of Bayazid I in March, 1403, there followed a period of anarchy in Anatolia. There were widespread and petty struggles for ascendancy, and the Province of Smyrna came under the domination of several Generals. From 1409, the city of Smyrna formed part of an Ottoman province, which became increasingly important from the reign of Fatih Mehmet II. Kineil, the Governor, became too ambitious, and so Sultan Mohammed I marched on Smyrna in 1419, reduced the two castles, and left him only the unfortified city. In

1424, Sultan Amurat II rebuilt the castle of St. Peter, which stood until 1877 A.D. For the next two centuries the Ottomans remained undisputed masters of the city, and with the rise of their naval power, Smyrna became the base for their fleets, which attacked the coasts of Algeria, Morocco, and Spain.

So faithful Smyrna had met the first ferocious assaults against Christendom, which were to culminate in the fall of Constantinople to the Osmanli Turks in 1453. Dread of the "infidels" was increasing in the West as the last great bastion of Christendom was disintegrating, but through their "dark ages" too, the example of Smyrna had shone as a "candlestick" of "the churches which are in Asia". Through all her suffering she emerged a shining example of faithfulness. And now far and wide amongst her conquerors, Smyrna became known as "The Giaour City" (infidel city).

CHAPTER IV

THERE IS A TIDE

THE tideless Mediterranean Sea, flooding through the Aegean, ripples like a lake on the shores of the Gulf of Smyrna. The dry rocky beds of the rivulets, flowing into the Gulf, fill with torrents after the rains. The silt of thousands of years is slowly altering the contour of the coast, and down at Ephesus the harbour, where St. Paul landed, is now several miles from the sea.

It is clear that Nature gave no tide to Smyrna. Yet, because of its position, through all the Ages the ebb and flow of countless migrations and invasions has passed over this site. Like an expanse of golden sand, claimed both by sea and land, Smyrna stands between East and West.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood leads on to Fortune", wrote William Shakespeare in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. It was men like the Elizabethan sea-dogs, who seeking their fortune at Smyrna, providentially opened the way for a flow of Western Christianity through their commercial enterprise.

History shows that the tide did not turn till the close of the 16th Century. The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 passed unnoticed in Britain. The English had no direct contact with the Byzantine Empire. Trade through Smyrna had been in the hands of Genoese, Venetians and Florentines. English merchants had adventured into the Mediterranean Sea during the 15th Century, but all trade vanished during the continuous state of war between Christians and Moslems in the Eastern Mediterranean when Turkish sea power was at its height.

Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent brought the Turks to the gates of Vienna, and before them Rhodes, the last Christian stronghold in the Levant, fell in 1522. Venetian trade was hit by their wars between 1537-40 and 1571-73, and their loss of territory in the Aegean and on the Greek mainland. Trade

was also reduced by the Portuguese discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route, while the Smyrna route was infested with corsairs waging an indiscriminate warfare against the "giaours", especially from the coasts of Barbary.

But in course of time the tide of invasion reached a low ebb. The Knights of St. John repulsed the Turks from their battlements on Malta in 1565. Finally, the resounding naval victory of the Spanish and Venetians over the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, marked the turning of the tide. Holinshead records that in London "there were bonfires made through the citie, with banqueting and great rejoicing as good cause there was for a victorie of so great importance to the whole state of Christian commonwealth". With the death of Suleyman the Magnificent the Turkish invasion of Christendom had spent its force. The lull gave an opportunity for the merchant adventurers of England, and other Western powers, to pursue their trade in the Orient.

Meanwhile other movements in the West were bearing fruit. After the Fall of Constantinople, the Greek intellectuals found sanctuary in Italy, and the dissemination of Byzantine art and culture was followed by a revival of classical knowledge and learning, which issued in the Renaissance. The invention of printing, and the new spirit of enquiry and adventure, gave a great impetus to the reaction against mediaeval superstitions and abuses, which led to the Reformation.

The influence of both the Renaissance and the Reformation was soon to filter into Smyrna. The Christian community had hitherto comprised Judaeic, Orthodox and Catholic elements. Henceforth it was to be enriched by almost every other school and tradition, from Continental Protestantism to reformed Catholicism, from Calvinists, Lutherans and Puritans to Scots Presbyterians and American Congregationalists, from Huguenots to Catholic Armenians, and not least by the Church of England. They each were to contribute something to the life and witness of the Church in Smyrna, and despite all their unhappy divisions and occasional quarrels, they were one in their loyalty, love and suffering for their common Saviour.

With the influx of trading colonies came clergy and minis-

ters to provide for the spiritual needs of the various churches. In due course missionaries also appeared. Thus they formed together a microcosm of the Universal Church, divided in faith and order, but united in their allegiance and suffering for Our Lord, sharing the life of His Church in Smyrna, in the midst of a hostile world. They all had their triumphs and failings, and only by sacrifice and suffering were they to overcome the subtle assaults of the Devil from within and without.

The first Roman missionaries to come to Smyrna after the Crusades were the Franciscans. A Franciscan House was founded in 1400, near to the Greek Orthodox Church of St. Photinios. It was built with the benefactions of the Genoese, whose armies had conquered the Asiatic sea-board. In 1453, a virulent plague, which swept Smyrna, brought death to nearly all the religious, and so the Greeks occupied the building. In 1622, the only Roman Catholic church in Smyrna was the little chapel of the Venetian Convent, and the only Roman clergy were the Venetian Observatorians who served this chapel.

The first of the Western powers of Christendom to establish political and trade relations with the Turks were the French. They obtained their first "capitulations", as the agreements were called, from the Sultan in 1535. Prosperity, however, soon vanished as the Wars of Religion developed in France. Towards the end of the century the cloth industry of Normandy, Languedoc and Provence was destroyed by civil war. French shipping was plundered by both Barbary and English corsairs, for the French Ambassador at Constantinople had opposed the entry of the English into the Levant. Meanwhile the English, and later the Dutch, were becoming serious rivals.

It was therefore not until 1623 that their numbers justified the French Consul at Smyrna in asking the Ambassador at Constantinople to send their colony a Chaplain. In response to his request, two Jesuits were sent as Consular Chaplains, and more of their Order followed. They resided at the Consulate, from whence they ministered until they were joined by the Capucins in 1628. The Capucins were then nominated as the official Consular Chaplains, and the Jesuits withdrew to found a school and a chapel elsewhere in Smyrna.

The Capucins, whom M. Dupuy, the French Vice-Consul, had originally invited from Constantinople to act as Consular almoners, had now been given authority to serve as priests to the French Catholics. In 1630, they built a church dedicated to St. Polycarp, as the Patron Saint of Smyrna, and developed his cult. Here they served for a hundred years.

The Dutch first appeared in the Levant when Venetian trade was declining and the French were resisting the English. In 1535 they traded under the French flag. But when the English disputed the French rights, their Ambassador Lelo secured capitulations in 1601, by which the Dutch traded under the English flag, and this was ratified by the Sultan. Cornelius Van Haagen succeeded in obtaining capitulations for the Dutch in 1612, and henceforth they traded independently. They concentrated their trade with the Levant at Smyrna, where a Dutch Consul was appointed in 1651. They became formidable rivals of the other nations and during the English Civil War and Commonwealth period, the Dutch boom practically supplanted the trade of all others.

The Dutch introduced to Smyrna a strong Calvinist tradition. As time went on many Swiss, Huguenots and other Continental Protestants, gathered with them for worship. Services were at first held in their Consulate Chapel, and Dutch Chaplains officiated. Many years later their Chapel formed part of the Dutch Hospital, and eventually the Dutch Chapel stood in its own grounds.

The English adventurers had reached the Isle of Chios in the reign of Henry VII. Chios then belonged to the powerful Venetian Republic and the British had appointed an Italian as Consul there. Now they were pushing forward their ventures to Smyrna itself. The pioneers were two English merchants, Edward Osborne and Richard Staper who sent out agents to the Levant in 1575, and in 1580 the English secured capitulations from the Sultan.

Queen Elizabeth vigorously denied any alliance with infidels against Christians, as reflecting on her loyalty to Christendom. The French, however, had allied themselves with the infidels in their struggle against Charles V, and there is no doubt that the negotiations of the first two English

Ambassadors at Constantinople reveal political motives in re-opening communications with Turkey. Certainly the Queen and her advisers, Burghley and Walsingham, were enthusiastically in favour of embarking on this big commercial enterprise. The project received widespread support in England. The Bishop of London, alone condemned it, on the ground that trade through the Mediterranean would lead to the capture and enslavement of more Englishmen by the Barbary pirates.

The Bishop's objections were over-ruled and in 1581, the Levant Company was granted a Royal Charter. Royal Councillors, wealthy merchants, and it is said Queen Elizabeth herself, subscribed. William Harborne, one of the leading merchants, was appointed Ambassador. His salary, at Walsingham's instigation, was paid by the Company, but his travelling expenses to Constantinople were defrayed by the Queen herself. (For information about the Company, the author is indebted to Dr. Alfred C. Wood's *History of the Levant Company*.)

Of the many glorious enterprises of the Elizabethan age, few have made a more profound effect on the course of history than the great Levant Company. The raw cotton they imported from Smyrna, Cyprus and Syria, was used by the Dutch and Flemish weavers, seeking refuge from religious persecution in the Low Countries, to found the cotton industry of Lancashire. The exchange of merchandise built up the Yorkshire wool trade, brought currants and sultanas for the plum-pudding, and produced the coffee-houses frequented by Dr. Johnson and Boswell. John Evelyn saw coffee for the first time in his life at Balliol College, Oxford, in 1637, and in 1650, probably the first coffee-house in Christendom was opened at the Angel Inn, Oxford, (on the site of the present Examination Schools). In the next fifty years the coffee-houses played an important part in the literary, social, political, and even religious, life of the nation. But the most remarkable result of all was that so soon after the Elizabethan church settlement, the Church of England was established in Smyrna, where it has flourished ever since, contributing its interpretation of the Faith and sharing the sufferings of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church.

The members of the Levant Company were called "Factors", that is, men who bought and sold goods on commission. When they formed an Association for the protection of their interests it was called a "Factory". In some places, such as Oporto, though apparently not in Smyrna, they built fine Factory Houses, which served as their meeting place and club.

The factory established at Smyrna rapidly expanded, and ultimately became the most important of the Company's settlements. This was largely due to the good harbour, and the fact that the Christians enjoyed greater freedom and security there than in the interior. In due course more and more of the Persian goods, which had formerly gone to Aleppo, passed to Smyrna. Besides the silks of Persia, the factory became a collecting centre for the mohair of Asia Minor, for cotton growing in the district, and for silk, wine and turpentine from the adjacent islands. By 1649, the volume of trade at Smyrna had surpassed that of "the Sublime Port".

All Europeans in Turkey were called "Franks", and despite the capitulations, were treated as "giaours" to be fleeced. A Frank quarter soon sprang up near the quayside, where they all mixed freely. Here the Westerners made the best of the conditions. In due course they built the finest houses in the city. They were all in one street, closed at night and so narrow that a laded camel could not pass. It was called Frank Street and backed on to the water. Their gardens blossomed with oranges and lemons, the warehouses were below, and their dwellings above. The banners of the various nations' factories flew over all, vying with one another in the height of their gilded flagstaffs. The cosmopolitan and convivial atmosphere earned for their quarter the name of "Petit Paris". Only French, English and Dutch were spoken. In the course of time, Capucins, Jesuits and Franciscans could be seen promenading, there was public singing and preaching in the churches and consular chapels, cabarets were open day and night where young and old played, danced and made good cheer.

Much hospitality was exchanged, and among the fêtes they held an annual election of a carnival king, known as the "Papegai", in which all the Franks joined. By the end of the 18th Century, the English had even brought out a pack of

hounds and hunted the country as in Merry England, which it is recorded, "was a prodigious mystery to the Turks". The more serious minded cultivated archaeology, and William Ray, British Consul at Smyrna from 1677—1703, collected two thousand coins and medals, which he presented to the Bodleian Museum at Oxford.

The first British Chaplain was appointed by the General Court of the Levant Company in 1636. The Revd. Thomas Curtys, M.A., of Sydney College, thus started a tradition at the Smyrna factory which was to continue long after the Company itself was dissolved. The Chaplains for some time resided with the Consuls and held their services at a chapel in the Consulate. There is evidence that the British valued their services, for a Consul complained to the Company in 1654, that Mr. Winchester only preached once a week, and the Company, whilst regretting this, felt the factory was to blame and should induce him to preach more frequently.

As Smyrna became a commercial centre, more and more Armenians were attracted to the West. They came from a Kingdom which had been the first State in the world to adopt Christianity as its official religion. King Tiridates III, in 303, had set an example which was followed ten years later by the Emperor Constantine. They belonged to one of the most ancient churches of the East, inspired by St. Gregory the Illuminator. Before the British had a cemetery in Smyrna, a Captain John Moyer, who died in 1637, was buried in the churchyard of the Armenian Cathedral. By 1660, there were two Armenian churches in Smyrna and the number was increasing.

Despite their suppression, the Greeks had maintained their continuity and built more churches as the times improved. Commerce was dominated by the Jews, Greeks and Armenians, with whom the Franks did business rather than with their Turkish rulers.

The French made the experiment in 1670, of sending out boys to the Capucin's convent at Smyrna in order to learn Turkish and act as interpreters. But generally speaking, from 1655 to 1720, there were so few Roman Catholics remaining in Smyrna, that "Apostolic Vicars of the Church of Smyrna" were appointed instead of Bishops. There were seven such

Vicars until the Roman Catholic Bishopric was reconstituted in 1818.

The Republic of Venice recaptured the Isle of Chios in 1694. Shortly the Venetian galleys appeared in force in the Gulf of Smyrna. The Turks retaliated by preparing to massacre all the Christians of Smyrna. To prevent such reprisals the British, French and Dutch Consuls went out to the Venetian fleet and persuaded their Admiral to withdraw. The navy sailed away and the massacre was averted.

This was the final attempt to recapture Smyrna from the Ottoman Empire, but the nations which made up the Christian community of Smyrna, were frequently at war with each other. Divided political and ecclesiastical loyalties led to tragic results, and to add to their sufferings the Turks were ever ready to play one off against another. For instance, English ships were used by both sides in the Turco-Venetian War of 1645-69.

The Anglo-Dutch War of 1653, in which the English were defeated at Leghorn, was a determined attempt to drive the English out of the Eastern Mediterranean, but Admiral Blake's victory the following year brought peace. During the Civil War, the disorder at home, the struggles with the Dutch, French and Spaniards, the attacks of Prince Rupert's fleet in the Mediterranean, and the internal problems of the Company, created a slump in British trade until the Restoration. At Constantinople the collapse of business gave rise to an order for the closing of the factory there, and the transfer of its books to Smyrna, though this was never enforced.

To a great extent the fortunes of the churches followed those of their nations. Politics and religion were closely related. The British Ambassador, Bendysh, retained the title "H.M. Ambassador" after the Commonwealth was proclaimed in 1649, and it was said that his Chaplain even prayed for the King's restoration. Owing to the trade depression the Ambassador was replaced by an "agent" in the interests of economy. This national crisis gravely affected church life in Smyrna, where also there were conflicting Royalist and Parliamentarian sympathies.

This was notably the case in the appointment of the British Chaplains. When, for example, the Revd. William Bull lay

on his death-bed, he recommended Dr. Duncone of Messina as his successor, and it was agreed in 1652 that if he arrived he should be appointed temporarily. The London heads of the Levant Company were staunch Parliamentarians, and Dr. Duncone was a notable Royalist divine, having been a Chaplain to King Charles I and one of the ablest and most learned of Archbishop Laud's associates who had gone into exile to minister to his countrymen on the Continent after the King's defeat. And so, instead, the Company informed the Consul that with the approval of the Speaker and the Lord General they had appointed Dr. Thomas Browne as Chaplain of Smyrna.

After the Restoration of King Charles II matters came to a head with the appointment of the Revd. John Broadgate, Vicar of Elandon and a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Mr. Broadgate was a typical Puritan, and suffered severely for his convictions in Smyrna. The hard conditions under which the factors lived in Smyrna produced all the vices which offended the Puritans most. The Company had tried to check gambling and drunkenness, and had refused a passage to a woman "who was reputed to be of noo good fame". With great conscientiousness Mr. Broadgate prepared a catechism before leaving England, which he had printed and stitched in blue paper. On his arrival he gave a copy to every member of the factory. The booklet immediately aroused the hostility of the Hon. Dudley North, who inscribed his copy "Broadgate's Broad Way to Bliss, brought forth for the breeding of the brutes of Smyrna".

True to his ideals, Mr. Broadgate roundly denounced all vice, but maybe rather harshly and tactlessly, for he apparently roused the opposition of the entire community. Roger North, in his *Lives of the Norths*, writes that he "accounted to himself that he was to go over to be tutor to a parcel of rude irreligious boys, and that he ought to erect a discipline, and make a Presbyterian reform among them. . . Now, for the better understanding of this historiette it is to be remembered, that these factories carry themselves very high; and, if their Chaplain be a venerable and prudent and good man, revere him entirely, and, calling him Pappas, which is the term, in the Levant, given to their priests, not only observe and honour,

but present him very considerably so that he cannot but live well, and grow rich; and they will take any just admonition or advice from him, if it be respectfully delivered, but if he be impertinent, or what they call a "Galli-pettine", and thinks to treat them as boys, they despise and deride him . . . and lead him a life (as they say) like a dog".

Of all places for a Puritan to witness to his faith, Smyrna was probably the hardest. Hostility to his ministry increased to such proportions that Mr. Broadgate was forcibly ejected. Lord Winchelsea, the Ambassador, wrote to the Bishop of London a long letter in which he states, "For want of the presence and power of an English bishop whose jurisdiction might reach the clergy of England inhabiting within the dominions of one of the seven churches of Asia, I have adventured, by vertue of that commission his Majestie was pleased to give me, to supply that office my self, by discharging one John Broadgate, Chaplaine to the English factory at Smyrna, from his office there, and embarking him for England to receive farther what ecclesiastical censure your lordship shall thinke fit to impose upon him". The letter continues, "Truly my lord it were worthy the pious considerations of my lord of Canterbury and your lordship to supply the foraigne factories with men qualified according to the late Act of Parliament, that so heresy and schisme, which hath with so much care beeene endeavoured to bee extirpated out of England, may not by transplantation take the deeper root beyond the seas and so the youth poisoned and infected who otherwise might by advantage of their estates and fortunes gained abroad become excellent instruments of the Church and State. Nor is it requisite that chaplains sent into Turkey bee men of orthodox principles according to the doctrine of the Church of England, but also men eminent for piety and prudence; for having diversitie of religions and persons of various educations and manners to converse with, it is not lesse than necessary to bee supplyed with those whose practise in the world and knowledge of men might procure from all a respect and reputation to our Church. And therefore I beseech your lordship would be pleased to take care that Smyrna be supplyed with such a one".

The Ambassador wrote in similar terms to the Secretary



of State and the Lord Treasurer, and again to the Bishop of London suggesting that the sailors, bound for the Levant, should be members of the Church of England and not non-conformists.

The Puritan chaplain received no sympathy from Dr. Henchman, Bishop of London. Far from supporting the clergy of another school, he replied to the Ambassador, thanking him for his "most pious care to preserve the sincerity of the doctrine and discipline of the English Church in those Foraigne parts where our chief merchants negotiate", and adding, "I am very gladd that Mr. Broadgate, being so petulant and turbulente, is discharged from Smyrna and sent hither, where the lawes have provided sufficiently agaynst such insolent attempters".

The General Court of the Company, however, did not share their lordships' religious views, and Mr. Broadgate's case was referred to the Court of Assistants who found that Mr. Cave, Consul of Smyrna and one of the ring-leaders, had acted most irregularly. They imposed on him a fine. Alderman William Love, a Nonconformist, was especially indignant over the treatment and the lack of respect shown to the Chaplain. The Consul was duly reprimanded and ordered to send home Mr. Broadgate's books and property. He was further instructed to take steps to check gambling, drunkenness and other vices, and to send away women without husbands. It was decided that Mr. Broadgate should receive good compensation, which charge should be borne by the factory of Smyrna. Not much later the Revd. John Broadgate died, after a rather lonely life and uneventful career, which from a worldly point of view had been ruined at Smyrna.

Perhaps the Puritan ideals and witness to the Moral Law, for which the British Chaplain stood, were all in God's purpose for Smyrna. After all, we hear of St. John the Baptist going out into the wilderness as a protest against the worldliness of Jerusalem, and there roundly denouncing the vices of all classes. We hear nothing of his tact and pleasing manners, of his piety and prudence, still less of any respect of persons. No wonder Herod rejoiced to see his head on a charger! Perhaps Mr. Broadgate was a prophet in Smyrna. These were halcyon days for pirates. Pirates of every sea-

faring nationality made their names and fortunes, only surpassed by the British, Spanish and French pirates who later infested the Spanish Main.

Since the opening of the trade routes from the West, the pirates of Barbary, where the Sultan's authority was only a shadow, had continually flung the consuls into prison and impounded the goods of the traders. Extortion was the lot of the Christian merchants, whose captors regarded all Giaours as fair prey. Thousands of British were enslaved by Barbary and Turk corsairs. The Company's agents were continually redeeming them, while the Government authorised the Bishops of England to organise national collections for this purpose.

This period saw the aftermath of centuries of warfare, which left its usual legacy of bitterness and prejudice. Christians were, therefore, not popular in Turkey, and their Ambassadors and Consuls found it necessary to employ janissaries as guards whenever they went out. Till the middle of the 18th Century, the Europeans only went out of Smyrna in large parties, because of the bandits surrounding the city. The factors in Smyrna at first wore robes, pelisses and long mustachios like the Turks. The French, unlike the English and Dutch, were nevertheless distinguishable by their manner. But by the end of the 17th Century, many were wearing European sword, wig and cocked hat. They still resided on sufferance only until as late as 1773, for it is recorded that when Dr. Johnson visited Montrose in that year, he entered the "qualified" Episcopal chapel and gave a shilling to the clerk, saying, "He belongs to an honest church". Boswell "put him in mind that episcopals were but dissenters here; they were only tolerated. 'Sir, (said he) we are here as Christians in Turkey'".

Despite the temper of the times, the British Ambassador, Sir John Finch, secured a renewal of the English capitulations with several additions, from Mohammed IV in 1675. Permission was now given to use Christian witnesses against Moslems who were renegade Christians. It all arose out of a case in Smyrna of an English factor who had robbed his principals and then turned Moslem to defend himself, because the evidence of a Christian was not permitted against a Moslem.

In 1683, the Turks were fighting desperately against the Empire, Poland and Venice, and turned to the one European power which had preserved common interests and understanding with them since the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent. The French Ambassador's influence grew at Constantinople, and under King Louis XIV, and his able minister Colbert, the French exploited the political situation at the expense of the English and the Dutch. They also took advantage of the alliance of Venice against the Sultan. Lord Chandos, British Ambassador, observed in 1686, "a sad truth that the Levant trade decays apace especially since this warre against Christendome hath been entered into by the Grand Segnior in all its scales" (in other words "ports").

Meanwhile, something may be gathered of life in Smyrna from the Revd. Sir George Wheler's *Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*, 1675. The traveller writes of the Levant Company factory at Zante that their merchants "have left few marks of their religion in their life or in their death, as well as in some places where they trade, to the great dis-honour of the reformed religion, having no one to console their spirits either by the preaching of the Word, nor by the administration of the sacraments during health, nor even in the last extremities of their illness nor at death. For they have neither church, nor chapel, nor pastor, so that it seems to the people of this country that they live without religion and die without hope; which is a scandal to their neighbours and exposes our church to much contempt. You will not see a single merchant of the Roman faith who has not at his house one or more priests. On the contrary, ours do not want one, although they are rich, opulent, and able to main-tain several".

Wheler's impressions of Smyrna were somewhat different; "the English, which are the most considerable number next the Greeks and Armenians, have only a chapel in the Consul's House, which is a shame, considering the great wealth they heap up here, beyond all the rest; yet they commonly excel them in their Pastor; for I esteem a good English Priest an Evangelist, if compared with any of the rest". Mr. Luke who was Chaplain at the time resigned in 1683 and became Professor of Arabic at Cambridge.

Good relations were fostered between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, particularly by Sir Paul Rycaut, Consul at Smyrna, and the Greek Bishop of Smyrna, Nathaniel Conopius. Before the end of the century the Levant Company was giving free passages to Greek students from Smyrna to go to Gloucester Hall, a College provided for them at Oxford.

In 1688, an exceptionally dreadful earthquake destroyed three-quarters of the houses in Smyrna. It is estimated that 50,000 people were killed. Both the monastery and church of the Franciscans were totally destroyed, and those who were not buried under the débris were nearly all burned in the huge fire which followed. The few who survived subsequently built a church elsewhere in the city, and later removed to the sea-side. The Jesuits' school and chapel were also destroyed, but, with hope and courage, they promptly re-built. Many of the English happened to be in the country as it was a Saturday, but two were killed by a falling beam, and in the fire which followed the quakes they lost goods to the value of £300,000. Usually, if there was any warning, the Europeans hurried on board their ships, with their valuables, for safety.

The majority of English factors were bachelors who went out to Turkey as young men who could not afford to keep wives. Marriage was discouraged by the home authorities as the conditions in Smyrna were not suitable for women and children. In early days only the Ambassador had his wife with him. The rest were forbidden to touch a Turkish woman on the pain of death. Nor were they allowed at this time to marry other Europeans, for religious reasons, and therefore they not infrequently married Greek women of the country.

In 1677, the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa issued an edict declaring that all Franks who married subjects of the Sultan would lose their rights and rank as Turkish subjects. Mr. Pentlow, of Smyrna, had his estate confiscated and executors imprisoned, because they attempted to send his Greek widow, children and money, back to England. Consequently the Levant Company firmly forbade such marriages. The factors were required to vow not to marry Turkish subjects, Ambassadors were to prohibit them and officials were dismissed for defying this rule.

In course of time these rules fell into abeyance, and by the 18th century, the English were freely intermarrying with the Greeks. The Greek ladies usually retained their native dress and remained Orthodox, but sent their children to England to be educated. The majority, who could not marry, were surrounded by the temptations of lower oriental standards, and from time to time the Company in London sent out admonitions against sensuality, which was due to the lack of normal married life, which they themselves could enjoy.

The British who died in Turkish ports were usually buried in Greek cemeteries. At Smyrna, their burial ground was called St. Veneranda, from the Greek church nearby, and contained many fine marble monuments. The Turks forbade the Christians to toll bells, so instead they were saluted with the boom of guns, fired from their ships, as they were borne to their graves.

Lord Paget, British Ambassador at Vienna, was instructed to proceed to Turkey, and together with the Dutch Ambassador, Colyer, mediated peace between Austria, Venice, Poland and the Supreme Port, at Carlowitz in 1699. Paget's successor, Sir Robert Sutton, was "bred a churchman", and had sound diplomatic training. He accompanied his cousin, Lord Lexington, to Vienna as his chaplain and secretary. As Ambassador to Turkey he was given leave to return to England at his own request in 1716, but on the proposal of the Emperor Charles VI he mediated between Austria and Turkey, at the Congress of Passarowitz. The Treaty of 1718, was a personal triumph for this diplomatic churchman, and a valuable contribution to the peace of Europe.

In Smyrna, the turn of the century saw the arrival of the Dominicans, with a large number of Armenian Catholics, recently escaped from the massacre of Naxiron in Persia. The Dominican Fathers wished to found a small monastery in Smyrna, but were prevented from doing so by the opposition of rival Roman Catholic orders, in 1718. They therefore carried on unofficially until, in 1748, they obtained authority to build their hospice for the Armenian refugees. Not until 1757, was their house constructed.

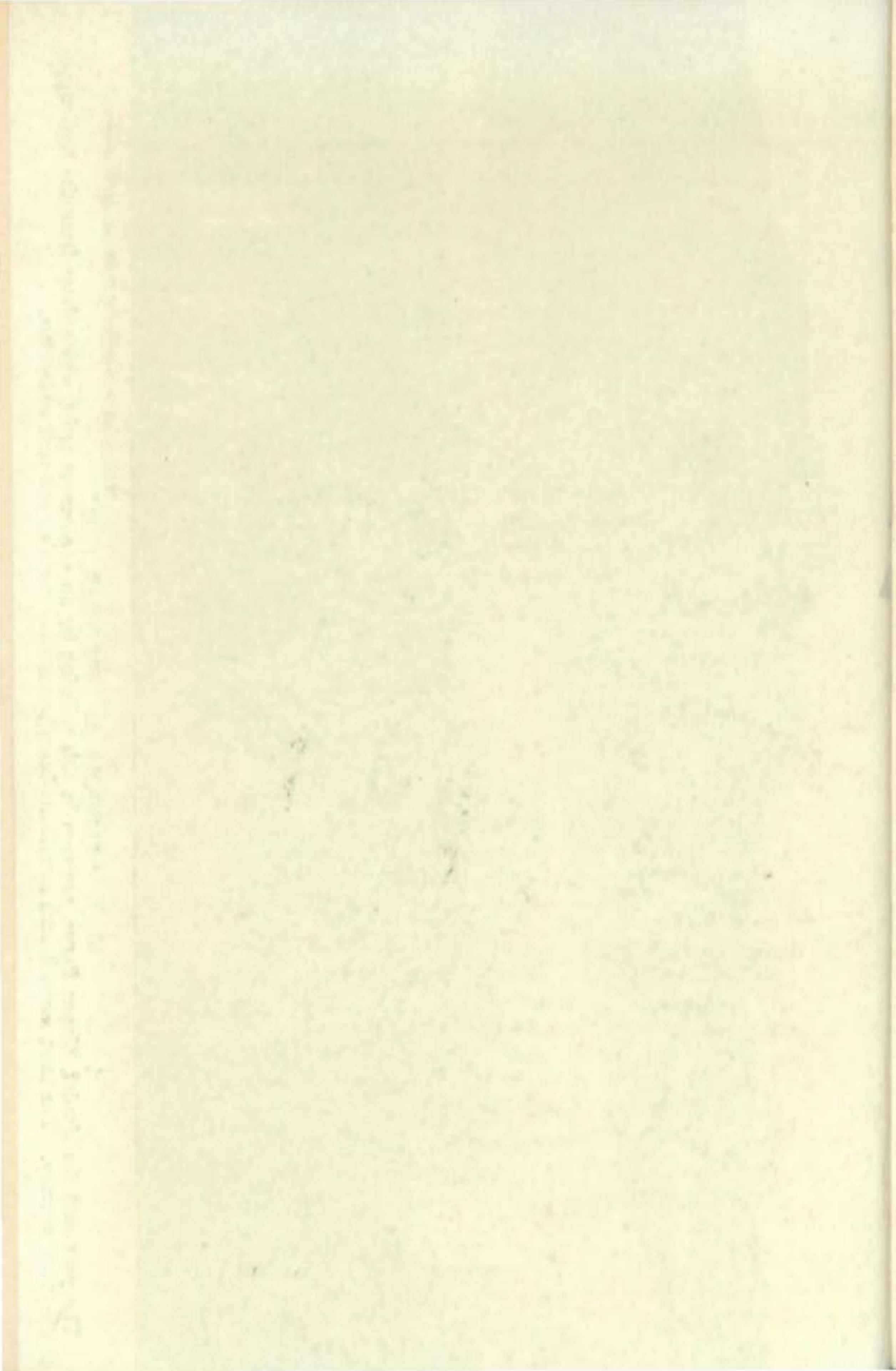
The Christian culture of the English community in 1702,



Photograph by courtesy of Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

"SMYRNA IN THE YEAR 1700"

The port and the citadel, Mount Pagus, are seen in this painting by an anonymous artist, which dates from the beginning of the 18th century. The inset shows Dutch merchants being received by the Vali and civic authorities.



may be gauged from their library. This consisted of 111 volumes, of which no less than 45 were theological and included the works of Tertullian, Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and Tillotson's sermons. Church history accounted for a further 9 volumes, and of the rest there were 22 dealing with secular history and mathematics.

An exceptionally virulent plague devastated Smyrna in 1724. Plagues were of common occurrence, due to the crowded towns, lack of sanitation, heat of the Levant summer, swamps and marshes around the ports, and the fatalism of the Turks scorning any precautions. Hundreds died daily during the summer months and whole cities became gigantic mortuaries. Few factors ever returned alive from Aleppo. Scanderoon was known as "the bane of the Franks". Public prayers were not ordered in Constantinople for deliverance until a thousand corpses a day were carried out of the city gates for burial. At Smyrna, provisions were left and washed in vinegar and water, then aired and fumigated before use. Letters were sprinkled with vinegar and smoked with sulphur before being opened. Visitors had to stand outside and enquire at a distance. While the plague raged seamen were not allowed to land from their ships, vessels anchored from shore and all goods were well aired before being loaded. Despite these precautions, disease took a heavy toll, and it is estimated that 25,000 Smyrnaians died from plagues during the 18th century.

Smyrna, during these years, was exposed to frequent attacks of brigands. Sometimes these murderous bands were highly organised, and Christians, as such, were the first to suffer. The brigand Sarimipeoglu accounted for the lives of thousands of citizens in 1736.

Meanwhile events over the sea were changing conditions for the Smyrnaians. In 1740, the French Ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve, brilliantly mediated a favourable peace for the Turks with Austria and Russia. The French thus won renewed capitulations and in 1744, had 200 large, and 400-500 small, ships trading to Turkey annually as compared with about 10 English.

On the eve of the French Revolution, France possessed three fifths of the European trade and the English one fifth.

Even the trade of the Dutch, which had languished for fifty years, revived at the expense of old rivals. By 1765, the Hollanders had a substantial cloth trade and in 1792, supplied England with more than half their cotton.

Smyrna was now the busiest port in the Levant, and as the century progressed absorbed the main part of the Levant Company's trade. But the wars between Russia (Peter the Great) and Persia, and the fights between Nadir Shah and the Turks over the Russo-Turkish agreement of 1723, to partition Persia, followed by the Shah's assassination in 1747, and anarchy, completely stopped the flow of Persian silks. Traffic in the other commodities decreased through French competition. The Muscovy Company and the East India Company became serious rivals. The Italians were developing a big silk trade, and also the American War of Independence gravely depressed the British trade. The Smyrna factory was consequently diminishing steadily, for reasons beyond their control.

Yet, despite all the national and commercial rivalries, there is evidence that Christian fellowship and charity often surmounted all barriers in Smyrna. There is an old leather-bound Consular Prayer Book still existing in the archives of the British Consulate-General, on the fly leaf of which is inscribed the name of Samuel Crawley, 1750. Various entries follow, in the style of the old family Bible, stating, "I was married in the Chapel at Smyrna by the Revd. Mr. Charles Burdet . . . 1751. 23 Aug. at half an hour past eleven in forenoon a daughter born who was christened 16 September by the Dutch Chaplain Mynheer Jacob Van der Vectot and named Susanna . . . 1752, a daughter born who was christened by the Revd. Mr. Phillip Brown, our Chaplain . . . "

With the approval of the Bishop of London, the Revd. J. Frederick Usko, a Prussian Lutheran living at Smyrna was actually appointed British Chaplain at the request of the Smyrna factory, in 1799, and served until 1808. The Revd. G. C. Renouard, appointed in 1810, held services on alternate Sunday mornings in French. A few years later, a successor of his wrote, "Our assembly for worship on the Sabbath Day, consists of a variety of nations; English, Dutch, Swiss, French Protestants, and Smyrnaians, or those bred, born and educated

at Smyrna . . . Except the British, moreover, and three or four among the Dutch, none of these can speak or understand English. The languages universally spoken here, by Europeans and by many of the Greeks, is the French".

The comprehensiveness of the Church of England, and the best of her clergy, had followed the trade routes to Smyrna, like the earliest Christian missionaries who travelled the roads of the Roman Empire. England gave to Smyrna moralists, saints, linguists, and great scholars such as the Revd. Edward Smyth, 1689-1692, afterwards Chaplain to King William III, Vice-Chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin, and Bishop of Down and Connor, and distinguished antiquarians such as the Revd. Edmund Chishull 1698-1701, the author of *Antiquitates Asiaticae*, 1728.

On the other hand, loyalty to the claims of some particular church often led to tragic conflicts. Some light is shed on such unhappy divisions during this period, by an article published in a local Greek newspaper of Smyrna in 1908. The author claimed that the Roman Catholic Church of St. Polycarp was originally Greek Orthodox and ought to be returned. He pointed out that in former times, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Turks often gave to the Romans the churches of the Greeks. This happened when the Venetians conquered the Turks, but when the latter gained the ascendancy the Greeks got their churches back.

To support their claim, the Orthodox reminded their readers that in 1798, the Patriarch Gregory V of Constantinople, who had formerly been Metropolitan of Smyrna, was deeply moved by the murderous behaviour of Napoleon's soldiers in Egypt. They had killed the priests, and pillaged the churches of the Orthodox whom they had found there. The Patriarch therefore declared the French in particular, and the Roman Catholics in general, to be enemies of the Greeks. He obtained the support of a sympathetic Ottoman government in demanding the return of St. Polycarp's Church at Smyrna. He wrote to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Smyrna, deplored heresies in Church and State, begging them to submit, and reminding them of the duty of obedience to the Head of the State, "which is (for us) a dogma of faith". The Catholics, however, seem to have won over the

Governor of Smyrna, who wrote on their behalf to the Government, suggesting a conditional payment of sixty thousand piastres which led to further negotiations which ended in exasperation.

The Roman Catholics replied that the church had never been Orthodox, and their argument relied chiefly on the opinion of the local historian Slaars, whom the Orthodox had quoted. Slaars had written : "The Catholic Church of St. Polycarp was constructed by the French Consul Dupuy in 1628, on the site where it stands to-day. Originally it was a little chapel found in the centre of M. Dupuy's house. Louis XIII, by Letters Royal of 12th May, 1631, commanded the Count de Marcheville to buy M. Dupuy's property, and to present it to the Capucins. The Act of Sale was made in the French Notary of Pera, on 18th December, 1631 ". Then in order to explain the belief that this church was formerly Greek, Slaars continued ; "Which has given rise to the confusion of two questions, by taking the church of the Franciscans for that of the Capucins. The former, in fact, had a church near to that of the Greeks (Saint Photinios), who found means of appropriating it. Almost all the Franciscans had died with the plague, the Greeks produced false witnesses before the Turkish judge swearing that the place used to belong to the Greek nation, and were thus given the church. That took place in 1453. I have not been able to discover how the Franciscan Fathers succeeded in regaining possession of their church. Towards the year 1660, following the war of the Venetians with the Turks, these Fathers saw their church invaded, pillaged by the latter and sold to the Greeks. The Fathers then put themselves under the protection of the Dutch Consul, who making a request on behalf of his compatriots, bought back the church for the sum of 600 piastres, which he remitted to the Government and gave the church back to the Franciscan Fathers. The latter, much later, sold it to the Greeks".

Unfortunately the political and commercial relations did not change the attitude of Moslem and Jew to the Christian. At Smyrna the Jews acted as brokers between English factors and Turkish customers. As soon as a new factor appeared in the port he was immediately laid hold of by the first Jew that

could secure him, and, by compact with the others, he found it impossible to do business except through him. When, therefore, Parliament debated widening the basis of the Company, the proposal that all subjects should be eligible, including the Jews, was rejected in 1744, on the ground that if English Jews secured entry to the Company, and settled as factors, they and their Levantine friends would organise a monopoly of trade and squeeze out the Christian merchants. Nevertheless, the Act of 1753 admitted all British subjects including Jews, and the power of the Jews in Smyrna as middlemen increased, though they had to share it with Greeks and Armenians.

As for the Moslems, even when Vergennes announced the important alliance between France and Austria in 1756, he was curtly informed that the Sublime Port was not concerned about the union of one hog with another. In 1763, a great fire burnt down all the houses of the Europeans in Smyrna. The city mobs seized the opportunity to indulge in an orgy of rapine and outrage, which the Turkish authorities made not the slightest effort to restrain.

In this fire the Jesuits lost their school, church and mission. Because of trouble the Pope eventually suppressed their order, and the last Jesuits left Smyrna in 1778. In the same year a terrible earthquake devastated the city, and the immense fire which followed lasted for thirty-six hours.

Russia made a valiant effort to emancipate the Greeks in 1770. While her victorious generals occupied Moldavia and Valachie, the combined fleets under Spiritoff and Elphinstone appeared in the Eastern Mediterranean and called on the Greeks to revolt. "I cannot refrain from telling your Majesty", wrote Voltaire to Catherine II, "that this project is the greatest and most astonishing that has ever been conceived, even Hannibal's does not approach it". Nevertheless, the project failed completely, and the Turks took merciless revenge on those who had taken part in the insurrection.

A wave of fanaticism, following news of the Battle of Tchesme, led to a savage massacre at Smyrna, in which 15,000 local Greeks were killed, and two Europeans. The merchants only escaped because of their guarded "Frank quarter", the fact that it was a Sunday and they were there-

fore indoors, and that they had access to their ships. On these they took refuge for over a month before being able to return from the harbour.

The Jesuits were succeeded by the Lazarists, who opened a little school in Smyrna. This was destroyed when the Turks, to take revenge on Napoleon's supporters, set fire to the French quarter on 15th March, 1797. Six thousand Christians were massacred. The Lazarists refused to be discouraged and persevered with their mission.

The French Capucins had been compelled, after the French Revolution, to hand over their missions in the Levant to their Italian brothers. The last French superior left Smyrna in 1802. The Dominicans formed a part of the Mission of Persia, but after the death of all the Armenian (Catholic) religious in 1813, the Mission of Constantinople took charge of the hospice at Smyrna. This hospice was completely destroyed by fire in 1813, but was immediately rebuilt.

Another extremely virulent plague spread through Smyrna in 1814, in which over 40,000 lost their lives. The French community requested that some ground adjoining the British cemetery should be given to them in order to build a pest-house, as an annexe to their hospital. The factors granted their request on condition that the British sufferers could be admitted without barriers of race or creed.

World affairs continued to have repercussions in Smyrna. When England went to war with France in 1793, there was a slump in her trade, and when Spain a year after her coalition, deserted England and joined France in 1796, her trade ceased altogether. Napoleon had conquered Italy, and the British Navy was withdrawn from the Mediterranean. But Nelson's victory at Aboukir Bay, and Napoleon's attack on the Ottoman province of Egypt, led to an alliance between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire in 1799, with a view to expelling the French from Egypt. British ships were even permitted to enter the Moslem Black Sea. The Seven Years' War, the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-74, the partition of Poland, and the Oczakov incident of 1791, had convinced the British Government that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was in their country's interest.

Napoleon's attack on Egypt, and ruthless crushing of all

resistance, led to reprisals. A fire and massacre broke out in Smyrna, and the French Chargé d'Affairs at Constantinople, together with two thousand Frenchmen then in Turkey, were flung into prison. The Dutch and the Italians, who were both under Napoleon, also suffered. The English trade boom was unchallenged. Lord Nelson was elected a complimentary member of the Levant Company in 1801.

In 1804, Russia and England prevailed on Turkey not to recognise Napoleon as Emperor, and in 1805, on the outbreak of war between France and the third coalition, the Tzar's minister at Constantinople demanded of the Sultan not only a renewal of their former alliance but a protectorate over all the Greek Orthodox Christians within the Ottoman Empire. The situation changed, however, with Napoleon's capture of Vienna and rout of the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz. The Austrians concluded the Peace of Pressburg, 1806. The Turks were at war with Russia and Great Britain in 1807, but Russia turned foe and signed the Peace of Tilsit. Turkey feared partition by Russia and France, and sought British protection.

Thus the political situation, and the expansion of the Lancashire cotton industry, brought a boom to British trade at Smyrna. For every ship that went to Constantinople ten went to Smyrna. In 1816, Smyrna could boast a Vice-Consul to assist the Consul in dealing with increased business. But in 1825, at George Canning's instigation, all Consuls were taken over by the Government, and the Company surrendered its Charter. The end of the great Levant Company's 224 years' existence marks the end of a long chapter, not only in commercial enterprise, but in the providential course of history.

CHAPTER V

IN THE STEPS OF ST. POLYCARP

AS EVERY missionary in Pauline and other lands has drawn inspiration from the life and example of the Apostle, so Christians of every tradition have followed in the steps of St. Polycarp at Smyrna.

Sir William Ramsey, in his *Letters to the Seven Churches*, suggests that to the Smyrnaians the walls which have surrounded the summit of Mount Pagus since time immemorial, would explain the metaphor "a crown of life". Indeed, the castellated walls of the dominating mount had crowned the head of the Goddess of Smyrna on their ancient coins. When St. Polycarp was martyred on Mount Pagus, the "crown" took on another meaning. So, down the ages, thousands of feet have climbed their way to the site of his martyrdom, and thousands of devout admirers have observed the "dies natalis", or birthday of the saint. Many believe that on the day of St. Polycarp's death in the stadium, he was born in heaven, and some may have remembered that Jesus' birthday present was myrrh.

The renowned traveller and chronicler, Tournefort, described the expansive view from Mount Pagus as the finest in the Levant, and he wrote of the city in 1717; "Smyrna is the most beautiful port one can enter in the Levant; built at the extremity of a bay capable of harbouring the greatest navy.

Of the seven churches of the Apocalypse, it is the only one which survives with honour; it owes this advantage to St. Polycarp to whom St. John, who had raised him to the episcopate, wrote by order of the Lord, 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life'. The other towns, which St. John warned by order of the Lord, are to-day miserable villages, others just ruins. This illustrious town of Sardis, so renowned through the wars of the Persians and the Greeks; Pergamum, capital of a fine kingdom; Ephesus,

which boasted of being the metropolis of all Asia; these three famous towns are no more than little hamlets built of mud and old marble. Thyatira, Philadelphia, Laodicea, are only known by some remaining inscriptions in which their names are mentioned.

Yes, in very truth, Smyrna alone has survived all the most terrible calamities, for she has seen thousands of her children massacred, she has seen decimation by plague, destruction by earthquakes, and devastation by fires which have consumed the town on several occasions. Yet our dear Smyrna has always arisen from her ruins more beautiful than before, according to the prophetic words of St. Polycarp's hymn '*Cito post ruinas pulchra resurgis*' ('straightway after ruin thou wilt arise more beautiful').

St. Polycarp's hymn, which enjoyed great popularity, was composed by a local Lazarist missionary about the middle of the 18th Century. Clearly the Western Church revered his memory no less than the Eastern. The official handbook of a church in France remarks that, following the division of Lyons into new parishes in 1791, "It was a happy idea to place one new parish under the name of St. Polycarp. For has not the church of Lyons the greatest obligation in respect of the Bishop of Smyrna, who sent us St. Pothinus and St. Irenaeus, our two first bishops?"

The cult of St. Polycarp developed among the Roman Catholics who asserted that it had been observed since the day of his martyrdom, and cited St. Jerome as their authority. In Smyrna, the Capucins in particular, concentrated on this cult. The Orthodox had venerated the memory of the martyr in their churches without intermission. The various Reformed churches held in the highest esteem the great father of the early and undivided church. Even unbelievers in Smyrna, from the day of his martyrdom to modern times, have had a sincere respect for the saint. So St. Polycarp became an inspiration to all who set foot in Smyrna, and in the 19th and 20th Centuries many confessions made Smyrna their home.

For a hundred years missionaries and representatives of a great variety of nations and confessions were drawn to Smyrna. As for the Church of England, her Church Mission-

ary Society, founded in 1795, sent out a Literary Representative, the Revd. William Jowett, in 1815, to assist the Eastern Churches in education, literature and united witness to Christ in Moslem lands. The Revd. Charles Williamson, Chaplain of Smyrna, on his journey to take up his appointment in 1817, had called at Malta and there met Dr. Cleardo Naudi. Himself a Roman Catholic, Dr. Naudi was yet a staunch supporter of the C.M.S. Mission, and despite Mr. Williamson's fears of Greek and Armenian suspicions, strongly supported the idea of forming a Bible Society in Smyrna. Mr. Williamson decided to consult the Patriarchs in Constantinople, and the Bible Society made him a grant towards his expenses. The same year Mr. Jowett arrived on a visit to Smyrna, and whilst staying with the Chaplain, had the satisfaction of seeing the Bible Society established under the patronage of the British, Dutch and Russian Consuls, with the full approval of the Greek Bishop. The objects of the Society were to distribute the Scriptures, publish Christian knowledge, and to further Christian education, schools and missionary endeavour.

The Bible Society subsequently made Smyrna a main centre of their work in the Levant, and appointed a Smyrnaian, Mr. Benjamin Barker of Aleppo, to be their agent there. Mr. Barker arrived in 1823, and served faithfully and unobtrusively for nearly twenty years. Between 1828 and 1831, nearly eleven thousand Bibles were sold.

The Faith that had inspired the Pilgrim Fathers, and had guided the *Mayflower* to North America, moved two missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to land at Smyrna in 1820. The Revd. Pliny Fisk and the Revd. Levi Parsons, intended to learn the language and see the Levant before proceeding to Palestine, but after exploring Chios and Smyrna, decided that Smyrna would make an excellent centre for their work. When Mr. Williamson, who had resigned the Chaplaincy to take up full-time work for the Bible Society, died on Samos on 9th November, 1820, the Americans were granted his quarters at the British Consulate. Mr. Fisk acted as Chaplain during the ensuing interregnum, and after a time Mr. Parsons set out on missionary excursions into the interior.

The Greek War of Independence, which broke out in April,

1821, had dire consequences for Smyrna. The city at this time was the most brilliant and prosperous of oriental hellenism, and suffered the most frightful treatment. Thousands of brigands and fanatics, with the connivance of the Ottoman Government, broke through the streets of Smyrna in June, 1821, pillaged numbers of houses, committed every kind of disorder, and massacred several thousand Greeks. The victims were slain in batches in the streets. The Europeans, and notably the French Consul, succoured the refugees and saved many lives in their crowded Frank quarter.

Mr. Fisk was at Ephesus when these bloody events occurred, but on his return to Smyrna, decided to remain. He again acted as "locum tenens" during another vacancy of the British Chaplaincy. His companion, Mr. Parsons, joined him in Smyrna after his missionary endeavours further afield. The climate and their exertions were beginning to affect their health, and Mr. Fisk accompanied Mr. Parsons to Egypt for a change of air. Despite the change, Mr. Parsons died on 10th February, 1822. Mr. Fisk then proceeded to other areas of the Levant, and died at Beyrouth on 23rd October, 1825, at the early age of thirty-five. Meanwhile a Swiss pastor, the Revd. J. P. S. Favé, who was acting as the Dutch Chaplain, took over the responsibilities of the British Chaplain, until the Revd. F. V. J. Arundell arrived in May, 1822.

Missionaries continued to arrive in Smyrna. The Revd. John Hartley of C.M.S. came in 1825, and with great versatility replaced Mr. Favé at the Dutch Chapel, where he preached in Greek. The Revd. Jonas King represented the A.B.C.F.M. The Revd. W. B. Lewis of the L.J.S. broke his journey from Palestine, the Revd. Joseph Wolff, celebrated for preaching Christianity in a Synagogue, the Revds. Brewer and Gridley of A.B.C.F.M., working among both Jews and Greeks, and many others, followed.

Whilst the Greek War of Independence was raging, the Greeks of Asia Minor were continually exposed to ferocious attacks, but in 1827, the British, French and Russians agreed to send an allied fleet to the Levant to restore order. On 20th November they destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino. Greek exiles were then able to return to Smyrna, many were able to buy their property back at exorbitant prices, and life in the city resumed a more peaceful course.

The Mission to the Jews, headed by the Revd, and Mrs. W. B. Lewis, met bitter opposition. Nevertheless, with the assistance of two converts, John Baptist (de Castro) and John Evangelist (Cohen), they steadily converted and baptised Jews in Smyrna. Mr. Lewis also preached in Italian and French at the Dutch Chapel, and stoutly endeavoured to set up a dispensary in the cholera epidemic which devastated Smyrna in 1832.

In 1836, more American missionaries arrived, but the Greek authorities, fearing proselytising, withdrew their Greek children from their schools. Despite the closing of the schools the American Board increased their staff. Mr. Temple preached in English at the Dutch Chapel and Mr. Adger held evening services for the Armenians. Their mission found a considerable response from the Armenians, and in 1839, their press issued 65,000 publications in Smyrna.

British Consular Chaplains succeeded those of the Levant Company, and in 1840, the Revd. W. B. Lewis was appointed to succeed Mr. Arundell. C.M.S. and L.J.S. work was carried on by others, notably by John Evangelist who arranged the publication in Smyrna of the Holy Bible and the Liturgy in Judaeo-Spanish. The same missionary did heroic work in the widespread fire which raged in the city in 1841.

Prosperous European merchants, Armenians and Greeks, began to build spacious houses and gardens within five or six miles of the city. Bournabat was nick-named "The French Village", but many English and others resided at this pleasant village on the plain. Boudjah, situated on the higher country beyond Mount Pagus, beyond the old Roman aqueducts which span St. Anne's Valley, and through the hamlet called Paradise, was developed mainly by the Dutch, Greeks, British and a few Americans. Here, it is said, the poet Byron wrote *The Bride of Abydos*. The magnificent avenue of cypresses where he drew his inspiration was called "Byron's Walk", until it was cut down by the Turks.

At both these villages Anglican churches were founded, which have served to the present day. At Bournabat, the church of St. Mary Magdalene was built by a prosperous British merchant, Charlton Whittall, in 1857. At Boudjah,

a chapel was founded in 1835, with the co-operation of both British and American clergy. At first building was forbidden by the Turks, but eventually a new church to replace the converted dwelling house, was built in 1866, and dedicated by the Bishop of Gibraltar to All Saints.

The Anglican Diocese of Gibraltar was constituted in 1842, and from those days the three Anglican churches, formerly under the remote control of the Bishop of London, have enjoyed the periodic episcopal and archidiaconal visitations and the steady ministry of resident chaplains. When the Consular grants for British Chaplains were withdrawn in 1889, and the Government decided to build new Consular premises without a chapel, the laity immediately rose to the occasion and constructed their own church. To their own efforts were added grants from the Lords of the Treasury and S.P.C.K., and thus the church of St. John the Evangelist was duly consecrated by the Bishop of Gibraltar, the Rt. Revd. C. Waldegrave Sandford, on 7th April, 1902.

Beneath the Crucifixion, depicted by the renowned C. E. Kempe, in the East Window, was an illustration of St. Ignatius being received by St. Polycarp, over the words, "Here the holy Ignatius on his way to martyrdom through the city of Smyrna is welcomed by St. Polycarp the Bishop who kisseth with reverence the martyr's chains". To the south of the sanctuary, another light was eventually added, depicting St. Polycarp's martyrdom, with the words, "Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life", "St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, martyred here circa A.D. 155", "Presented by the Revd. W. H. Brett, Chaplain of Smyrna, 1911".

The last of the Consular Chaplains, the Revd. J. Bainbridge Smith, was followed by a succession of Chaplains (appointed by their Church Council and licenced by their Bishop) ministering, like their predecessors in the Consular Corps and Levant Company, to their flock in Smyrna.

As time went on, many more churches were built by the Greek Orthodox in the city and surrounding villages. The Armenians also added to their churches, and their fine Cathedral of St. Stephen, Proto-Martyr, rose in the centre of the city. The Americans founded their International College about 1901-02, and moved to imposing buildings, with a

chapel, at Paradise, about 1911. The Roman Catholics also built beautiful churches. There were Bible depôts, an American Y.M.C.A., French, Dutch, German and British Hospitals, schools and colleges, a Mission to Seamen, and every evidence of Christian activity.

The 19th Century saw a succession of clergy, faithfully representing the comprehensiveness and catholicity of the Church in a cosmopolitan city. From the East two Melchites, Greek Uniat priests, were sent in 1883 to serve the few Greek Catholic families who looked to the Patriarch of Beyrouth as their spiritual Father-in-God. From the West came regular Chaplains and Missionaries, German Deaconesses and R.C. Sisters of Mercy, and visiting Naval and Army Chaplains. Many Church societies made their contribution; S.P.C.K. for church building, the Colonial Church Society for stipends, S.P.G. for Crimean Army Chaplains, L.J.S. and the British and Foreign Bible Society for literature. The Church of Scotland Mission provided Ministers and Missionaries, while the Eastern Female Education Society sponsored an infant school at Boudjah in 1840.

C.M.S. sent out the Revd. J. T. Wolters in 1842, and he took services alternately in Greek and German. In 1843, Mr. Solb   came to Smyrna as the L.J.S. missionary. He was ordained by the Bishop of Gibraltar at Malta in 1844. He introduced an Italian service, and a school was built. But on 3rd July, 1845, the Mission was destroyed by a malicious fire. Immediately new premises were found and the work carried on. In 1848, however, there was a severe epidemic of cholera. Mr. Solb  , throughout the epidemic heroically relieved distress, at the cost of his own health. He was obliged to resign in 1850, and died ten years later.

The Lazarists took over the Mission of the Jesuits in 1873, and in 1887, they opened a College called "La Propagande", adjoined by a pretty little chapel. The Mekitarists arrived in Smyrna in 1846, to serve the Armenian Catholics. They taught oriental languages in their college, and founded a church in 1884. The magnificent Cathedral of St. Polycarp, built by the Capucins, was utterly destroyed by the fierce fire of 1841, but immediately re-constructed on the same foundations. The Italian Capucins, who had succeeded the French,

kept up their traditions and in 1884, founded the "Institut d'Orient" at Boudjah, which became one of the most distinguished R.C. seminaries in Asia.

The last surviving religious among the Dominicans, who served the hospice for Armenian refugees, Father Adami, having no church, decided to sell the hospice, and sought asylum with the Capucins. The money went towards the building of the new church. In 1902, a fine church and convent was built for a Dominican parish ministering to a considerable Italian colony. It was spitefully destroyed by flames, started by bad characters in that quarter, but in two years it rose again and was dedicated to Our Lady of Pompey.

There were so many faithful clergy and missionaries, so many devout laity, during the century, that Smyrna now resembled, not so much a single candlestick of the churches which are in Asia, as the scene at an Orthodox Easter. It was like that midnight moment when the Holy Fire from the altar is passed on by hand from one small candle to another, till thousands of borrowed rays radiate their light.

At times it seemed that the darkness was indeed banished, for there were periods of greater tolerance and apparent friendship than the Christians had ever known in Smyrna. Mary Whittall, on a visit from England at such a time, was able to record in her diary that on "27th Aug. 1831, is the feast day of the Virgin Mary. The Greek Church or rather Chapel of Bournabat is dedicated to her. She consequently is the Patron Saint of the village. It is a low building with not the least outward appearance of a place of worship. There are benches outside and it is quite immaterial if you enter the church or remain outside during the service. The inside has nothing remarkable except the paintings of the Saints. Upon entering and leaving the Church everyone kisses the painting representing Christ and makes the sign of the Cross bowing very low. For a day or two previous to the 27th I noticed an additional number of persons entering the village from all quarters and some with novel appearances, at least to me. There were women on foot without shoes and stockings (having made a vow to walk bare-footed from their native village probably many miles distant to Bournabat) but with dresses embroidered with gold. Families of a dozen

with one ass or mule on which the Mother or children were mounted and such furniture as was considered necessary for comfort or display. The arrivals first were by dozens, they then progressively increased to hundreds and finally the evening previous to the Feast Day all roads leading to the village became crowded with as motley a set of votaries as ever addressed vows to a virgin. They entered the village singing, laughing and with every appearance of anticipated pleasure as well. Those fortunate enough to possess the means of having an ass (the expense of which was doubled or trebled for the occasion, certainly more for the benefit of the owners than of the poor asses, who were most unmercifully worked to the utter destruction of any devotional feeling towards the Virgin they might have had) as those less favor'd by fortune and forced to travel on foot amidst clouds of dust, nor did I notice any very marked sign of contrition in the countenance of those coming in performance of a vow made after the commission of some crime or during some calamity. All appeared to be happy except the four-legged beasts. The important Eve of the feast having arrived, the point of attraction became the Church, which was decked with Laurel, Myrtle, etc. I went there about 9 o'clock in the evening and found the Church and Churchyard, etc., quite crowded with people, men, women and children. Some sleeping, some bellowing and singing, others kissing something very holy in the shape of a picture, all was animation and anything but holy in my protestant opinion. Before the Church was a small space about sixty-yards diameter, neither a square nor a crescent nor an oblong nor a triangle, but something of all these. This space was crowded by Spectators to see the crowds go to and return from the Church, there were all the Europeans of the village seated on chairs. Boys letting off fireworks, not exactly as are seen at Vauxhall, but they made a fizz and sometimes to the no trifling annoyance of the bystanders. The famous Greek singer Lucca was there, famous in my opinion for a most disagreeable nasal twang, which is amongst the Greeks considered as the height of perfection and harmony. The scene was animated enough and pleasing from its novelty to me. I noticed some Turks walking philosophically in the crowd and heard them say 'A strange

religion this'. At 11 o'clock I returned home and left the busy scene in full activity as it continued through the night. On the following morning at 7 o'clock I went to see the people come out of church after having performed their vows, etc. In the evening I went to the place chosen for the promenade called the 'Reservoir' . . . You see here all nations. Turks and Greeks from all the principal islands in their respective costumes and Europeans who make a point to put on their best clothes for the occasion". (Edmund Giraud, *Family Records*.)

The same tolerant attitude was even more evident in later years, for Sir Henry Woods records how His Imperial Majesty the Sultan Abdul Aziz spent a day at the country house of Mr. Charlton Whittall at Bournabat. On his journey from Alexandria, in August, 1863 : "His Imperial Majesty had been preceded by a host of servants, his Cooks and Stewards, with a string of camels carrying their food for himself and also his table equipment, etc., and was followed by a brilliant staff, one member of which was Fuad Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time . . .

The Sultan took a walk through the extensive garden of his host and at his own request was ushered into the Protestant Church of Bournabat built by Mr. Whittall some years previously. But I have been told that upon entering its portals the Sultan uncovered his head, thus showing a most unusual mark of respect not shown even by Greek and Armenian Officials, who in those days wore their fezzes everywhere. . . . Upon his return to Constantinople Fuad Pasha was sent back to Smyrna to present to each of the ladies who had received him at Bournabat a costly souvenir of his visit in the shape of a broach set with large brilliants and pearls". (*Spun Yarn*, Vol. II. Chap. vii.)

Unfortunately, however, these better relations were based not on the firm rock of Christian fellowship, but on the shifting sand of foreign affairs. Thus the attitude to the British and French improved out of all knowledge when they became allies with Turkey against Russia in 1854. The hard winter campaign in the Crimea filled the hospitals to overflowing and so the Turkish Barracks at Smyrna were turned into a temporary hospital.

The Chaplains' Department of the British Army was inadequate, so the S.P.G. provided twenty-five additional clergy. One of them the Revd. C. E. Hadow, whose health had been impaired at Scutari, was posted to Smyrna in February, 1855. The largest room in the hospital was converted into a Chapel, with a vestry and Chaplain's quarters partitioned off.

The Revd. John Escreet joined Mr. Hadow in March. He took up his position at the Quarantine Hospital, which had just been added. Of its improvised Chapel Mr. Escreet wrote, "This building tho' rude has an ecclesiastical appearance, and the lectern though made in Smyrna, and ordered after the design of the Commissariat Department could not disgrace a London church. I hope I have not usurped episcopal authority in calling it the Chapel of St. Polycarp. We are within view of the place of his Martyrdom". From Smyrna Mr. Escreet was posted to the Crimea.

When the Rt. Revd. C. Waldegrave Sandford, Bishop of Gibraltar, visited Smyrna in 1879, he took some of the pupils of the German Deaconesses' School to Ephesus, called on the Greek and Armenian Archbishops, Mgr. Paissios and Mgr. Melchisedek, and received the Chief Rabbi of the Jewish community, who expressed their gratitude for shelter and aid recently given them in time of persecution by the Church of England.

His Lordship wrote afterwards of his visit to the "Smyrna Rest", a large room at the quayside, opened by Miss Grimstone, assisted by a sailor and another lady, with financial aid from England. Besides the usual amenities, Bibles in all languages, and services, there was a "Rest" boat for visiting the ships. "When the room was first opened", wrote the Bishop, "the neighbours, thinking their trade might be in danger, broke the windows; but on discovering that the kind English lady had come simply to work for their good, they ceased to cause annoyance. On entering I found her at her post, and some sailors and others busily reading. A like scene I witnessed when I paid the room a second visit a few evenings later, just before I entered my boat to join the Italian steamer by which I took my departure. Hanging on the walls were texts from the Bible, and the Nicene Creed in Greek, without the disputed clause. The Spirit of Our

Lord and Saviour, I felt, had not ceased to stir English hearts, if a lady could bravely leave home, and all home's comforts, with no attendant but a faithful Scottish matron, for the self-denying purpose of working among rude Greeks, Turks and Jews, in a bustling port of a far-distant land".

In 1895, the Bishop again visited Smyrna, which was mourning the massacre of Armenians by the Kurds and Turks at Sasun. Moreover, the "Red Sultan's" dream of pan-islamism had led to the systematic persecution of all "rayahs" (Turkish subjects of Christian religion and foreign race) on the pretext of keeping order. After this visit his Lordship wrote, "Though in my interviews with Oriental Prelates I am reluctant to touch upon political questions, I could not refrain from expressing my deep sympathy with the Armenian Archbishop and his people, and my indignation at the inhuman treatment they had received. After speaking of the various occasions on which the English and Armenian people had been connected in past history, he thanked me for the words of sympathy I had spoken, and taking my hand in both his own, said in English 'Your Church and people are the only quarter from which as yet we have received real sympathy. From the depths of my heart I implore the noble English Church and Nation not to fail us in this hour of sorest need'".

After the Bishop's departure, Smyrna received worse news, for in 1896, Sultan Abdul-Hamid ordered the systematic extermination of three hundred thousand Armenian Christians in the Ottoman Empire. When, at last, in 1908, the Young Turk Party reversed the policy of the Hamidian régime since 1878, proclaiming equality of all Turkish subjects, it was only to raise hopes for the rayahs, which were tragically to be disappointed.

A new Bishop of Gibraltar, the Rt. Revd. W. E. Collins, journeyed to Smyrna in November, 1904. He licensed the Revd. J. Muhlenbruch to assist the Chaplain of Smyrna by taking services at Cordelio, and by allowing the Chapel of the Mission to the Jews to be used for the usual services. The Bishop's letter to the Chaplains confirming the directions he had given them in conference during this visit, is still posted in the porch of All Saints', Boudjah. This document is of

interest in showing how they were careful to avoid any suggestion of territorial jurisdiction, but to correspond to the parochial system in England each chaplain was held responsible for the scattered British residents in clearly defined areas. The Chaplain of Boudjah was to be responsible for all British subjects living on and to the south of the Aidin Railway, while the Chaplain of Bournabat was to be responsible for all those living on and to the north of the Cassaba Railway. To the Chaplain of Smyrna's lot fell the whole city extending over five miles to its suburbs of Cordelio and Paradise, also Mitylene, Chios, Samos, Rhodes and the smaller islands adjacent.

Little did the people realise, when they met this remarkable young bishop, how his memory would be treasured, and closely associated with their church. Claimed by the Gibraltar Diocese, and indeed by the whole Anglican Communion, as one of her greatest bishops, William Edward Collins set Smyrna in particular a fine example of faithfulness unto death. Possessing that rare combination of profound learning and deep spirituality, Collins was appointed Bishop of Gibraltar at the age of thirty-six years. He was the first bishop produced by Selwyn College, Cambridge, and from the first showed himself a true father-in-God to his clergy and people alike.

Bishop Collins' greatness is apparent not only in his erudite contributions to theology, his literary works, and the mark he has left in his sphere of administration, but in such simple letters as he wrote, for example, to the Hon. Madame Wiel, from Malta one Holy Innocents' Day. The tone is reminiscent of the Christ-like gentleness of St. Francis of Assisi. The Bishop writes of the tender care he is bestowing on a rescued "patient of mine—a wee kitten". "How dear 'the lower creatures' are! and how poor the world would be without them!" observes the Bishop. "Don't you think that 'His jewels'", he writes "must include the cairngorms and olivines and beryls and tourmalines, and all those beautiful stones of Corsica that are too soft to be cut for the market, as well as all the orthodox 'precious stones'? I'm sure of it".

The Anglican Church in Smyrna was obviously prospering under the leadership of her clergy and bishop. It has been

observed that the expert in religion is not the scholar but the saint. Bishop Collins was both to a remarkable degree. When he died, the Archbishop of Canterbury paid him the following tribute; "In some of the gravest labours of the Lambeth Conference of 1908, he bore a leading, sometimes even the foremost part. His broad and accurate learning—historical, literary, and ecclesiastical—was of the unusual sort, which is readily, almost momentarily, available when it is needed, and its contributions to the common good were quietly given with a deep and solemn reverence for the Church's living Lord, which was, perhaps, its most obvious, as it was its profoundest, characteristic. I have felt again and again in him the living reality of each severally of the seven Pentecostal gifts—the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and godliness, and of holy fear".

Always rather delicate, Bishop Collins achieved feats of physical endurance which would be a credit to the physically fittest. The loss of his devoted wife in 1909, after much suffering, and his own failing health, did not daunt his courageous spirit. With a brave heart he set out again to visit his diocese in 1910. He wrote confirmation charges in advance to his chaplains, as he could not now depend on his voice, which owing to his affliction often failed him. He left Constantinople obviously a very sick man, under the care of Nurse Bolas, a Greek, determined to fulfil his engagement at Smyrna.

The confirmation candidates were all waiting in St. John's Church. The clergy went to meet S.S. *Saghalian*, but she sailed into port with the flag at half-mast. Sorrowfully they returned, and the Revd. W. H. Brett broke the sad news of the Bishop's death in sight of Smyrna, to the waiting congregation. The Revd. A. S. Hichens then read the Bishop's charge.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, after consulting the Bishop's father, directed that he should be buried at Smyrna. And so, on 27th March, 1911, the body of William Edward Collins, Bishop, was laid to rest in a vault at the West end of the nave of St. John the Evangelist's Church. H.B.M. Consul-General and his staff attended the funeral in uniform, together with the Greek Archbishop (who gave an address), the Bishop of

Tralles, many Greek priests, the Armenian Archbishop, French and German Pastors, representatives of the American Mission and most of the British Community. The Anglican Clergy all took part, and the Chaplain of Smyrna officiated at the actual committal.

Mr. Wilfrid Barnes, presented a silver chalice with the Bishop's ring set in the knop, which is used to this day. A Greek inscription adorns the base. It is taken from the final words of a letter which St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, wrote to St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, when he was passing through Asia Minor as a captive on his way to martyrdom in Rome in the first decade of the second century. The text can be translated as "Abide ye in Christ in the unity and oversight of God" or "Abide ye in Christ in the unity of God and episcopal supervision"—the sense of the Greek word "episkepe" being ambiguous in the context.

In 1913, the tomb was encased in polished Marmara marble, by Mr. Perakis, engraved in Greek, "Faithful unto death". Two of the Bishop's old friends, Lord Northbourne and Canon A. J. Mason, defrayed the cost. In the same year the Bishop Collins Memorial Hall was erected to his memory, by local subscription, in the church grounds.

"And now he has gone", continued the Archbishop, in the ancient chapel of Lambeth Palace. "They tell us that it was his indomitable courage which kept him with us even so long. With Pauline tirelessness he worked in Pauline and other lands, in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers (as Kurdistan can show), in perils in the city (let Messina tell), in perils in the sea, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often. And now, from those things at least, he is at rest. We shall no more on earth be stimulated by the eager look, or wait a few quiet moments for what had, of late, been whispered counsel, or the swiftly written sentence of epigrammatic force, and go away with a fresh lesson as to the power of the mind over matter, and of a personality so vivid in its buoyant spring . . . We shall not easily see his like again".

The Bishop's old friend, Canon A. J. Mason, wrote the *Life of W. E. Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar*, published by Messrs. Longman & Co. in 1912. After describing his heroic

and saintly character and life, the author concludes, "There, then, his body lies—in the bosom of that Church of Smyrna, to whose Angel St. John was bidden to write 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life'. To the first known Bishop of that Church—perhaps already Bishop when the Apocalypse was written—the martyr Ignatius wrote, praising his 'resolution in God, settled as upon an immovable rock'". Canon Mason continues quoting the gist of St. Ignatius' letter to St. Polycarp, and then comments, "If St. Ignatius could have foreseen the career of the English Bishop who is buried at Smyrna, and desired that there should be a likeness between him and St. Polycarp to whom he wrote, could he have traced the features better?" (p. 185.)

By this time the city of Smyrna had become as cosmopolitan as the Church. Most European languages and many Asiatic, could be heard in the streets. Inter-marriage over many generations had produced a considerable Levantine element, who were born in the country, but still retained their varied religious allegiances and national characteristics.

The War between Turkey and the Balkan Alliance brought British, French and American warships to Smyrna in 1913. During their visit the British Chaplain of Smyrna (who was an Australian) held a tea-party at the Parsonage, at which the guests included a Naval Chaplain, the Greek Metropolitan, the Bishop of Tralles, the Armenian Archbishop, a British Roman Catholic Chaplain, a Lutheran Pastor and two Presbyterian Ministers. The R.C. Curé and Scots and Dutch Chaplains were unavoidably absent. Before tea they all said together the Lord's Prayer, each in his own language.

The same year, the Bishop of Gibraltar sent a copy of Bishop Launcelot Andrewes' *Private Devotions* to the Greek Metropolitan Archbishop of Smyrna. He received a grateful letter, in which the Metropolitan replied, "In return I present you with my *St. Polycarp*, in which, as in a vial (not a golden one by any means nor precious, but of ordinary clay) I include my humble prayers and the unspeakable grief of my heart. To Mr. Barham, the kind Consul-General who had the kindness to hand to me your letter and the sacred book I have delivered the series of pamphlets of my *St. Polycarp* complete up to date together with this letter which offers to

you my brotherly greetings in Christ and the expression of my boundless veneration with which I continue at all times to pray that the Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you,

Your humble brother in Christ,

Chrysostomos,

Metropolitan of Smyrna.

Smyrna, 22 January 1913".

CHAPTER VI

AS GOLD IN THE FURNACE

LIKE the Magi, the Wisdom of Solomon came from the East. In Smyrna were to be fulfilled the words of wisdom :

"The souls of the righteous are in the Hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them . . . for God proved them, and found them worthy for Himself. As gold in the furnace hath he tried them, and received them as a burnt-offering".

(Chap. III, 1, 5, 6.)

It needed but a spark to ignite the fiery furnace, for which the fuel had been prepared over such long years by conflicting political, religious and national ideals.

Emerging from the Great War defeated, and bereft of their Empire, the Turks displayed the same high qualities of courage and resolution in adversity as they had shown on the field of battle. Sweeping constitutional and social changes were imminent, with the aim of establishing a "laic state", holding its own as a continental, progressive country. There was a deep desire to free their land from all foreign domination, to become strong, independent and self-respecting. Whatever drastic measures had to be taken to this end, Islam still remained the religion of the people, deeply affecting their outlook.

For over twelve hundred years the Koran had been the standard of all law and practice, the message sent direct from Heaven to which the World must conform. This "thing to be read" had been read indeed by thirty relays of priests, who in succession read through the whole book every day in the mosques. Every devout Moslem studied the Sacred Book according to his ability for personal direction and guidance. Their judges made their decisions upon its teaching. The observance of Prayer five times a day, Ramadhan and other rigorous fasts, lavations, strict complex formulae, and abstinence from wine, had likewise deeply influenced the life and character of one fifth of the World's

population. Throughout Islam the Turks were pre-eminent and held in high esteem and honour.

This way of life derived from the great prophet Mohammed, of whom Thomas Carlyle wrote :

"Mohammed was in his fortieth year, when having withdrawn to a cavern in Mount Hara, near Mecca, during this Ramadhan, to pass the month in prayer, and meditation on those great questions, he one day told his wife Khadijah, who with his household was with him or near him this year, that by the unspeakable special favour of Heaven he had now found it all out; was in doubt and darkness no longer, but saw it all. That all these Idols and Formulas were nothing, miserable bits of wood; that there was One God in and over all; and we must leave all idols, and look to Him : That God is great; and that there is nothing else great! He is the Reality. Wooden Idols are not real; He is real. He made us at first, sustains us yet; we and all things are but the shadow of Him; a transitory garment veiling the Eternal Splendour. 'Allah akbar', God is great;—and then also 'Islam', that we must *submit* to God. That our whole strength lies in submission to Him, whatever He do to us. For this world, and for the other! The thing He sends to us, were it death and worse than death, shall be good, shall be best; we resign ourselves to God—'If this be Islam' says Goethe, 'do we not all live in *Islam*? ' Yes, all of us that have any moral life; we all live so".

There is undoubtedly much in common between the rival religions, but the tragic struggles down the centuries have been largely due to their differences. Too little credit is sometimes given to the epoch-making efforts of Mohammed, who raised the whole Arab world from the idolatry prevalent when he was born in 570 A.D.

Idolatry was abhorred by the other two monotheistic religions, Christianity and Judaism. True that when men worshipped the stars and other natural objects, they thought of them as symbols and immediate manifestations of the Creator. The Caabah, the Black Stone, held by Silvestre de Sacy to be an areolite of great antiquity, and Hagar's Well, Zem-Zem, were then the Kiblah, the central object of worship at Mecca.

In later days they were venerated as sacred by pilgrims, and honoured by the carpet the Sultan sent annually as a canopy. In Mohammed's day, however, the keepers of the Caabah were the Koreish tribe, to which his family of Hashem belonged, and who became his most bitter opponents.

By constant preaching and persuasion Mohammed had only succeeded in gathering together a mere handful of followers, whilst arousing the hostility of the idolators. Increasingly his converts were persecuted, and there were attempts on his life. In the thirteenth year of his mission, finding it impossible to continue in Mecca, where forty sworn men from every tribe had banded together to assassinate him, Mohammed fled to Medina, away over two hundred miles of rock and desert. The whole Moslem world now dates its era from this Hegira, or "Flight", the Year 1 being 622 of the Christian Era, the fifty-third year of Mohammed's life.

During this period some of the revelations of the Koran were received, and the Prophet resolved to meet force with force. Since the Koreish had tried to silence the Divine message by violence, he would fight back, he would draw the sword to defend and establish Islam. So the Prophet fought valiantly and victoriously for his faith during the remaining ten stormy years of his life.

Not only by the Prophet's example, but by his book, the Koran, this means of propagating the faith was enjoined. Time after time his followers were exhorted to fight :

"Fight for the religion of God, and know that God is he who knoweth and heareth".

"War is enjoined you against the Infidels".

"And fight for the religion of God against those who fight against you, but transgress not by attacking them first, for God loveth not the transgressors. And kill them wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof they have dispossessed you; for temptation to idolatry is more grievous than slaughter: yet fight not against them in the holy temple, until they attack you therein; but if they attack you, slay them there. This shall be the reward of the infidels. But if they desist, God is gracious and merciful. Fight therefore against them, until there be no temptation to idolatry, and the religion be God's; but if they

desist, then let there be no hostility, except against the ungodly".

"And say not of those who are slain in fight for the religion of God, that they are dead, they are living; but ye do not understand. We will surely prove you by afflicting you in some measure with fear, and hunger, and decrease of wealth, and loss of lives; but bear good tidings unto the patient, who when misfortune befalleth them, say, We are God's, and unto him shall we surely return. Upon them shall be blessings from their Lord and mercy, and they are rightly directed".

(Sura, Entitled the Cow—Revealed partly at Mecca, and partly at Medina. George Sale's Translation.)

Though these exhortations were originally directed against idolatrous Arabs in illiterate and barbarous days, they set the pattern for successive generations in their dealings with others who did not share their faith. Thus the wars between the Greeks and Turks had an age-old history, reaching back even to the time of Mohammed himself. Indeed it was in the War of Tabūc, the first of Mohammed's wars against the Greeks, that Seid, the second of his believers and his much beloved emancipated slave, gave his life. The Prophet was deeply moved by this event, and it is recorded that he said "It is well. Seid has done his Master's work, Seid has now gone to his Master: it is all well with Seid". Yet the fatalistic austere old man was discovered by Seid's daughter weeping over his body. "What do I see?" she exclaimed. "You see a friend weeping over a friend", he replied.

Mohammed often spoke of the War of Tabūc afterwards, and recalled that many of his men had refused to march on that occasion, pleading the heat of the weather, the harvest and the like. "Your harvest?" he had exclaimed with burning zeal, "It lasts for a day, what will become of your harvest through all Eternity? Hot weather? Yes, it is hot, but Hell would be hotter!"

If later history had shown many instances of forced conversions to Islam, it is only fair to observe that there had also been many instances of conversion, or rather co-ercion, to Christianity by force of arms. Charlemagne, the Inquisitors, and the Crusaders, are only a few examples of those who

had felt that this means was justified in certain circumstances.

Slowly, over the centuries, the virile Turkish people had been working out the same problem engaging the Western Christian powers, the age-old and intricate problem of the right relation between Church and State. They were nearer to the solution which eventually came with the formation of the new Republic, than the Greeks, who still tended to over-simplify the problem by identifying Church and State.

At the head of the Hellenic world stood the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, invested, like the Sultans and Caliphs, with temporal and spiritual power. The Greeks recognised his civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in their religious and communal affairs. His Holy Synod comprised twelve Metropolitans and the National Council of lay and clerical members. The Synod and Council, which sat separately or in joint session, entitled their official journal *The Ecclesiastical Truth*. Thus the triple cord of language, race and religion, held together the dispersed Greek people, whose Church and State stood or fell together.

In Smyrna and its suburbs there were now 243,879 Greeks and only 96,250 Turks. The Greek community provided entirely at its own expense, without any subsidy from the State, 67 schools, of which 10 were senior schools, 5 Colleges, and 4 commercial schools, with 290 instructors and instructresses. The number of pupils exceeded 18,000. A fund of more than 30 million francs was applied to the maintenance of these educational establishments, as well as to that of 33 churches, served by 120 priests. The library of the theological college, which was founded in 1733, contained no less than 30,000 volumes, 200 M.S.s., with an important archaeological and numismatic collection. Together with the vilayet of Smyrna, which numbered 622,816 Greeks, there were 59 churches and 402 schools, attended by 56,625 pupils.

By this time, too, the Armenian Community in Smyrna had become one of the greatest and most prosperous Armenian communities in the world. With a population of nearly 200,000, with its educational and cultural institutions, its churches and organizations, it stood together with Constantinople as the main centre of cultural and social life for all the Armenians in Turkey.

Ever since the Battle of Vardanantz in 451 A.D., the Armenian Church had been developing, like the autocephalous orthodox Churches, along national lines. Indeed, it had been by its close identification with the Armenian nation and people that they had kept their faith, which they now strove to propagate, alive and vigorous.

The Greeks and Armenians were thus bound together by a common tradition, and politico-religious system. Their relations with other Christian bodies were most friendly, as shown, for example, by an entry in the archives of the British Consulate-General. A letter, dated 18th June, 1912, is addressed to the "Evangelical Community, Smyrna", from R.C. Kavalgian, Head of the Armenian Community, who writes :

"Mr. Theopilus John Misselides and Miss Helen Eulalie Aslanoglon having declared their wish to enter the Holy Estate of Matrimony, we have made all possible enquiries and find there is no hindrance to do so, so far as law is concerned; therefore we declare that any Protestant clergyman is free to perform the ceremony. In behalf of the Committee, The President, R. C. Kavalgian".

So far as the various Reformed Churches and Roman Catholics were concerned, they had long ago dissociated the respective authority of Church and State, whilst the Jews were the most amenable citizens of all, for Zionism was not yet a serious movement. Members of these confessions, and foreigners as such, did not confront that Turkish rulers with any "Imperium in imperio". It was otherwise with the national aspirations and activities of the Greeks and their influence over the "rayahs" (minorities of Turkish nationality but of Greek or Armenian origin and religion). They were the problem.

Various attempts had been made, and methods employed, by the Turkish authorities all down the ages to govern these unruly elements. It was reasonable for the Turks to expect the loyalty of minorities, and respect by foreigners for the laws and customs of the land in which they resided. They were often disappointed. Historians of the 15th Century recount how Mohammed II, the day after his conquest of Constantinople, was faced with the question of how to administer the vast Greek population. As after every fierce

war, bitter feelings remained, and so some extremists counselled annihilation. The Sultan, however, decided on a moderate course, following the example of Theodoric, who had founded his Kingdom of Ostro-Goths on two classes, soldiers and workers. Thus the Turks became soldiers and the Greeks workers, whose enterprise and endurance brought the country, and ultimately themselves, great prosperity.

This policy was modified when Khalil-Djendereli counselled Orkhan to found the world-famous Corps of Janissaries. To justify the formation of this militia with the sons of Christians in days when, after all, most of the world was still uncivilised, the counsellor remarked.

"It would be a benefit to lead these Greeks to the true religion; for according to the words of the Prophet every man bears at birth the germ of Islam. Without family, without lineage, neither being with the rest of the people, these soldiers would belong entirely to the prince from whom they hold everything".

It should be remembered that this was a dark and brutal age, in which there were none of our present democratic ideas of co-existence, and during these unenlightened years it was not uncommon for Greek women and other slaves to be forcibly converted.

Despite all these changes the Greeks had never lost their identity, and were ever conscious of the continuity of their race in Asia Minor. They could never be assimilated. The only historians of standing who ever denied the continuity of the Greek race from classical times were H. S. Chamberlain and Fallmereyer, and their theory has long since been exploded by the consensus of expert opinion. In fact, the only difference of opinion remaining among the scholars, and apparently incapable of proof, is the question as to whether in the dim legendary era of migrations the Greeks of Europe had colonised Ionia, or whether the Ionians had colonised the Peloponese.

Every revival of Pan-Hellenic nationalism, with its appeal to their glorious past and its hopes for future emancipation, automatically called forth strong measures from the Turkish rulers. In 1892, for example, the Ottoman Government found it necessary to ban all the classics upon which hellenic

culture was based, and to suppress the majority of their schools. For the same reason and to maintain public order, the liberal committee of "Union and Progress" had declared, in 1910, that "the non-musulman elements of the Empire are of negligible quantity, whose religious rights one can recognise, but not their language : they must pray in the Turkish tongue".

During the years preceding the Great War of 1914-18, there was a great revival of the old Hellenic nationalism in Smyrna, and throughout Asia Minor. The Greek population here of 812,586 strong, vastly outnumbered the Turks. In the Province of Smyrna alone there were 449,044 Greeks as compared with 219,494 Turks. The magnitude of the problem of controlling and ruling this powerful group can well be imagined. Through this rising tide of the independent spirit, the situation became acute and even desperate. What the Greeks regarded as patriotism the Turks could only regard as defiance. The former gave continual provocation while the latter increased their restrictive measures.

It must have given great offence to the Turks when Châteaubriand, having stayed in Smyrna for a few days on his journey to the Holy Land, described the city afterwards as "a kind of civilised oasis, a Palmyra in the middle of barbarian deserts". And now there arose satirists and lyric writers, such as Theodore Orfanidis, who was born in Smyrna in 1817, followed by other Smyrniotes like Photidiadis, Simiriotis and Argyropoulos, whose works spread like wildfire through the Orient. These fire-brands extolled the Greek genius which they poetically described as having flourished in the city since the days of Homer. They claimed to represent across nineteen centuries the classical culture of Ancient Greece and the modern spirit of patriotism.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the followers of such a movement should become "personae non gratae" with the Government, which was obliged to take increasingly stern measures against them. It is impossible for any other than an eye-witness to penetrate the maze of propaganda and exaggeration, by which the one side claimed to be persecuted and the other to be provoked. But undoubtedly feeling was running very high, with deportations, mass emigrations and

bloodshed, when the Great War broke out, and further complicated the political situation.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that the crux of the matter was essentially political, though it was inevitable that deep religious feeling should be evoked on all sides. In the confused and tragic events which followed, religion was only too often used as a cloak for political aims. This subtle temptation, of which those who fall to it are not always conscious, has beset all races and creeds from the beginning of Time. Even in our own day the supra-national Moral Re-Armament Movement, the child of Buchman's "Oxford Groups", has been criticised by the Church of England for seeking to commend religion on pragmatic grounds :—"Christianity is the only way to save civilisation". It has rightly been observed that true religion is to be commended because it is true and for no other reason. In any event, in the life and death struggles which ensued, none could be said to be waging a "holy war", though many were misled into thinking they were so doing.

When Turkey entered the Great War on the side of the Central Powers, national and political considerations not infrequently outweighed religious loyalties. For instance, an Anglican Priest, the Revd. John Muhlenbruch, who served the Mission to Jews in Smyrna, was by birth a German. As the war went on, he took the side of Germany and her allies. He died in April, 1917, of typhus contracted in Smyrna, and at his own request was buried by a German Pastor. The Kaiser's friendship with Turkey was ostensibly as the "Protector of Islam". In 1915, the German Lepsius declared that the persecutions of the Greeks and Armenians ought to constitute the two phases of a programme of extermination of the Christian elements in order to make Turkey an essentially Moslem state.

Much has been said of the sufferings of the "rayahs" during the War years, but these were hard times, when the Turkish authorities were more concerned about their loyalty to the State than about their religion. They were therefore considered to be better employed road-building and in other labour, than in uniform.

Other Christians suffered, not *qua* Christians, but because

they happened to be the victims of war. For instance, the British suffered when their own aeroplanes bombed Smyrna. Again, when in 1917, the Royal Navy bombarded the fortifications of Mount Pagus, the Turks took three hundred British householders to the danger area to prevent another bombardment.

Disabled prisoners-of-war, British and Indian, captured at Kut in 1915, arrived at Smyrna on their way to repatriation under the Berne Convention. Mr. MacLachlan, a Scots-Canadian, who was President of the International College at Paradise at the time, placed these spacious premises at their disposal. The Turks, whom the British found to be brave and clean fighters, respected this agreement. Moreover, they allowed the Revd. William Brett, (British) Chaplain of St. John's, Izmir, freedom of movement to minister to the interned merchant seamen detained at Magnesia. His faithful ministry to these men, to whom he regularly took "comforts" spiritual and material, and his resolute and patient pastoral care of his remaining congregation, earned for this chaplain the O.B.E.

The Great War ended for Smyrna with the arrival in the Gulf of the British Monitor 29, on 6th November, 1918; only the scars and wounds of war remained. At the Paris Peace Conference, the Greek Premier Venizelos urged that Greece should be given Smyrna, and pending a treaty, he obtained Allied approval for occupation of the city. Greek troops landed in May, 1919, and by the end of the year the administration was in the hands of a Greek High Commissioner and his staff.

By the Treaty of Sèvres, August, 1920, Greece was awarded considerable territory, which included the Smyrna district. Acceeding to Venizelos' wishes, the Smyrna area still formed a Turkish vilayet, but with a local Greek assembly, which might apply for the city's incorporation into the Kingdom of Greece in five years' time. Smyrna was intended to be the centre for all the Greek population of Asia Minor.

In due course the Prime Minister Venizelos fell from power and King Constantine was recalled from exile. British policy was influenced by the reaction on Moslems in the Indian Empire, the French favoured Turkey, and the Italians op-

posed Greek expansion. Meanwhile the Young Turk Movement was given a further impetus by the occupation of Smyrna, and Mustafa Kemal was gaining prestige and power.

A conference was held in London in February, 1921, attended by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Greece and Turkey. Its proposal that Smyrna should have Turkish sovereignty, a Governor appointed by the League of Nations, a Greek garrison in the city, and an Allied gendarmerie in the confines, was not acceptable to a single interested party. Hence in March, 1921, the Greeks landed an army in Asia Minor with a view to settling the dispute.

The return of the most controversial figure of the time, the Metropolitan Archbishop Chrysostomos, proved to be the spark which was to start a general conflagration, a blazing inferno. Smyrna seemed destined to become a furnace in which the faith of her citizens would be tried as gold.

To understand the effects of the Metropolitan's return it is necessary briefly to consider his background. Chrysostomos, the inveterate champion of Hellenic resurgence, was born at Triglia, a large village in Propondidos, Greece, in the year 1867. He was the second son of Nicholas Kalaphatis, who married in 1865, and was known as "the gentleman" because of his devout character. Kalaphatis sang in the church, and it was his desire, and that of the village, that one of his sons should become a bishop. One day the Metropolitan Proceris Nikodimos was passing through Triglia in Greece, and Chrysostomos' mother stepped forward with the babe in her arms. As the Metropolitan blessed the child, the villagers all cried out, "May he be as worthy as Nikodimos". When his mother returned and told her husband, their hopes grew, and on the following day the child was baptised. When the father named the child the villagers cried "Worthy to be a bishop". Thus from an early age it seemed that he was destined for a special vocation.

Kalaphatis, being a forwarding agent for the local tribunal was not rich and had eight children, but Chrysostomos was top of the civic school of Triglia and took his diploma with distinction. All his masters were impressed by his religious inclinations, and Ioannikios, the Archimandrite who taught him his catechism, and later became Metropolitan, had

testified to his father of his unusual gifts. He advised him to send his son to a theological college, because he was sure he would make a good priest. Nicholas Kalaphatis, who had no greater desire than this, immediately sold his holdings and sent his eldest son to a good school and Chrysostomos to the Theological School of Halkis. The talented student here cultivated his vocation, and in 1887, the Metropolitan of Mitylene, Konstantinos Valliadis, afterwards Oecumenical Patriarch, took Chrysostomos under his care and defrayed all further tuition fees. In 1891, Chrysostomos had finished his course with distinction, and had been declared a deacon by Valliadis.

Chrysostomos' subsequent career was distinguished. As Archimandrite of Ephesus he maintained the Orthodox views against the claims of the Lazarists regarding the tomb of the Virgin Mary, as Protosynggelos at the Patriarchate he presided over the Committee of Anglican and Orthodox clergy reporting to Lambeth on relations between their Churches, and as Metropolitan of Drama he was twice expelled for championing the Christian cause while Macedonia was in flames and the Bulgarians were up in arms. His hopes of returning to Drama a third time were not realised, as the Holy Synod unanimously elected him Metropolitan of Smyrna on 11th March, 1910. The Patriarch Joachim, who did not care for Chrysostomos very much, had yet nominated him for the vacancy, which he accepted because he was convinced that in Smyrna, the capital of Ionia, he was called to a greater contest.

When Chrysostomos arrived in Smyrna, the problem of the mixed Christian and Moslem population in Crete was the burning question of the day, calling for forbearance, patience and wise statesmanship. With more zeal perhaps than wisdom, Chrysostomos rushed into the political arena. It was no doubt natural for him to champion the Greek cause, but even many sympathisers on his side in the dispute felt that in calling for strike action and armed resistance he was making a grave mistake. The more he fanned the flames of Greek nationalism, the stronger and more drastic became the reaction of the Ottoman Empire.

As resistance to the Turkish rule increased in Asia Minor,

every measure of retaliation was described as oppression or persecution. Feeling was running so high that the Patriarch Joachim decided to visit the Sultan, who refused to receive him. On his return to the Phanar, Joachim decided firstly to appeal to all European states for intervention on behalf of the Greeks in Turkey, and secondly to convoke an assembly at the Patriarchate of representatives from all provinces of the Ottoman Empire, to consider the events and appropriate action.

Meanwhile, Chrysostomos wrote repeatedly to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Metropolitan of Russia, and the leading journalists of England and France. This diplomatic activity culminated in a letter from the Patriarchate to the Vizier, dated 28th May, 1914, in which it was stated that,

"The two bodies of the Patriarchate, who feel the heavy responsibility for their people and for all Christians in general, share the deep mourning of the people who, we understand, are condemned to extermination. They have therefore decided to discontinue their routine and make a proclamation to all the Orthodox Churches in Christendom imploring help".

The logical conclusion of such a protest was to raise Turkish fears of an invasion from the West. Liman Pasha therefore presented the Government with a plan for meeting such an emergency, declaring :

"If we accept the possibility of New Ephesus, Smyrna, Kidonias, and the whole of Western Asia Minor, being invaded, it would be swift and sudden; it is therefore necessary that all the sea-board should be populated by numerous Turkish settlements, so that these should be a formidable obstacle to an advancing Greek army and at the same time Greece could have no pretext to claims for her minorities".

Such a policy could hardly have been implemented without bloodshed, and the Greeks suffered heavily at Kidonias. Over 30,000 refugees arrived in Greece. A protest was sent to the Vizier, and diplomatic notes were exchanged, but all to no avail. As the strife increased, Chrysostomos organised an "Army of Safety", which distributed food, clothes and money. To relieve the pressure he sent the victims back to the interior or along the coasts, with instructions to aid other refugees to escape to Smyrna, making it their centre.

Thus, blamed by the Turks for stirring up strife, Chrysostomos was hailed in certain sections of the Western Press as the "Homeric Hero". The question inevitably arises as to how far Chrysostomos was himself responsible for the suffering of his people. But however mistaken his policy may have been, his personal courage was never in doubt. He received tribute from a strange quarter when the German Ambassador, Wolff Metternich, wrote from Constantinople,

"I do not know the head of the Greek Church of Smyrna personally, but from reports I am sure that the Greek clergy of Smyrna, during this period of agony, has reached the level of the best clergy in the world, the English. At the head of these clergy, the Metropolitan of Smyrna, together with those displaced bishops, had the courage to bear to the four points of the horizon his profound protests, while knowing very well that he was standing on a volcano".

War seemed inevitable. Venizelos planned to meet Talaat Pasha at Brussels to arrange an exchange of populations, but in August, 1914, the Great War broke out and changed the whole political scene.

It seems reasonable for the Governor of Smyrna, Rahmy Bey, to have regarded Chrysostomos as a dangerous trouble-maker, and therefore to have requested him to leave the city. Upon his refusal to do so, the matter was taken up on a higher level. The Government, through their Minister of Religion insisted that the Patriarch should withdraw the Metropolitan, as he was inciting the populace. After further delay, the Governor sent the gendarmerie to the Metropolis, and under protest, Chrysostomos was escorted by the Chief of Police to the Railway Station where he was given a free ticket for Constantinople. At Constantinople, Chrysostomos spent his time reporting events to King Constantine and urging him to enter the War.

When, therefore, the War eventually ended and the Greek carrier *Leon* entered the port, one can well imagine the dismay and bitter disappointment of the Turks on the one hand, and the exuberant rejoicing of the Greeks on the other. The conflicting emotions mounted with the triumphal return

of the Metropolitan, and deep-rooted religious feeling was stirred to its depths by the exhibition of a big public procession to the Cathedral for a Thanksgiving Service.

The Governor, Rahmy Bey, was replaced by the victor of Kout'el Amara, Nouridin. As soon as he exercised his authority over the Greeks, however, he was superseded. Meanwhile, Chrysostomos prepared a memorandum, which was approved by the Councils and sent to the Western Powers, demanding the union of Smyrna with Greece.

On 1st May, 1919, Mavroudis, commanding the Greek battleship *Averof*, received a telegram from Prime Minister Venizelos. He immediately conveyed its contents to Chrysostomos. Smyrna was to be occupied by a Greek army. Claiming to represent the Greeks of Asia Minor, Chrysostomos sent telegrams to the kings and rulers of all the great powers, including King Alexander, expressing their joy and gratitude.

This occasion would seem, in retrospect, to have afforded an excellent opportunity for those in authority to counsel moderation, to call the people to penitence and humility as well as thanksgiving, and to avoid any cause of provocation. The opportunity would seem to have been missed, for Chrysostomos assembled the city notables at the Metropolis, announced the news and delivered an address which certainly sounded the notes of triumph and rejoicing, but might also be described as inflammatory. It was followed by demonstrations of rejoicing throughout the city, and Greek flags appeared everywhere. The cry "Christ is risen from the dead" took on a political significance as the crowds, wild with excitement, welcomed the Greek forces. The golden-vested Metropolitan was chaired by the cheering crowds to the Cathedral.

One can easily imagine how greatly this incident incensed the Turks, for it seemed to them to show complete disregard for the religious susceptibilities of those who had surrendered honourably and believed the War to be over. The unfortunate result was that on 2nd May, there was bloodshed. Some Turks who had opened fire were imprisoned, but later released on Chrysostomos' instructions.

The Allied Control Commission took a grave view of this

initial bloodshed. Steriadis, the Supreme High Commissioner, sent a strong complaint to the Greek Government about the Metropolitan's alleged interference. The Metropolitan, for his part, sent a Memorandum to both the Allied Control Commission and to Venizelos, explaining the incident.

The Supreme High Commissioner, Steriadis, made it clear that he resented the Metropolitan's militant political activities. Nevertheless, Chrysostomos, who had a big following, persisted in his campaign. In July, 1919, he wrote to all the eminent pro-hellenic personalities, including President Wilson and the Pope, urging them to support the union of Smyrna with Greece.

Of all possible armies of occupation, it seems a strange irony of history that the Greek should have been chosen. It could hardly have been expected and certainly it could never have been said, that they behaved as a disinterested and dispassionate police force. In the political climate that prevailed, every act of violence, such as desecration of the mosques, maltreatment of the inhabitants, women and children, and looting, added fuel to the fire.

As the Greek Army advanced, it at first met little opposition in the interior, but soon Venizelos fell from power, its equipment and morale deteriorated, and reinforcements failed to arrive. Most significant of all was the mounting power of Kemal Ataturk's forces in the East. In March, the Western Powers proposed an armistice, and that in return for a part of Thrace, Asia Minor should be evacuated within four months.

Despite the strong protests of Steriadis and the Greek Government, Chrysostomos formed a resistance organisation. The people were to contribute one fifth of their substance, and men under fifty were to be mobilised, trained locally and sent to the front. He wrote to Lloyd George, to M. Briand, to the Foreign Secretaries of England, France and Italy, and to the Patriarch, requesting support. He preached a crusade in Smyrna and wrote to the Pope on Easter Day, asking him to exert his influence on the great nations.

The Metropolitan's appeals brought forth no support for his plan, nor escape from the nemesis of 13th August, 1922. On this fateful day, Kemal Ataturk broke the front, and was

advancing steadily towards the Aegean coast. Towards evening on 14th August, this alarming news reached Smyrna.

At dawn on 15th August, the public learnt that the front had collapsed, Afion Karahissar had been evacuated, and the Turkish army was advancing on Smyrna. They thronged the High Commissioner's office, which issued a communiqué to calm them. Steriadis refused to receive Chrysostomos. Refugees began to flow in with all the horrors of war.

On 16th August, the steady flow of caravans of refugees had become a flood. Rumours spread that the Greek army was scattered and making for the coast in all directions. During that night came the news that General Trikoupis could not be traced, and that the wireless was out of order. To prevent panic, the High Commissioner refused to issue passports. The Metropolitan ordered the ringing of the bells of Saint Photine and called the people to prayer. It is recorded to his credit, and that of the Greek clergy, that they were indefatigable in ministering to the refugees, distributing olives, rice and bread. "God", the Metropolitan declared in the Cathedral filled to overflowing, "is trying by tribulation our faith, our confidence and our patience. In a storm the good captain is perceived, and in adversity the good Christian. The time is critical but all will pass and we shall come through to happy days and sunshine again".

On 17th August, the Greek Ministers, Stratton and Theotokis arrived, and having conferred with the leaders decided on the evacuation of Smyrna, then returned to Athens. Warships of the Western Powers began to arrive in the Gulf to protect their own nationals. Chrysostomos called on Steriadis urging him to organise ships to collect his people. The latter replied that his Government already had the evacuation in hand and were taking all possible measures to carry it out. At the same time he recommended Chrysostomos to try approaching the foreign powers.

On 23rd August, it was officially announced that General Trikoupis, to whom the command of the Greek Army had been entrusted after the recall of General Hatsienesti, had been taken prisoner. Turkish flags were hoisted in the Turkish quarters. A new general, Polimenakos, was appointed, but this failed to restore confidence among the panic-stricken crowds, swollen by deserters and refugees.

The following day, Chrysostomos, after gathering the city councillors together, made a final attempt to save his people. He personally approached the foreign Consuls and Admirals. None, however, was in a position to send troops to guard the Greek quarters, or do more than safeguard their own nationals, without authority from their respective governments.

By 25th August, the situation was one of "sauve-qui-peut". Many tried to escape from the indescribable anarchy and struggle on to boats. Chrysostomos himself was advised from all sides to depart, but he resolutely affirmed his indifference to martyrdom and his refusal to abandon his people.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop visited the Metropolitan in the afternoon of 25th August, and announced that he had secured a place for him on a foreign ship, and implored him to leave the country. "Your Grace", he pleaded, "the Turks will never forgive you your national activities. I am afraid you will endanger your life by remaining in Smyrna; you should leave". Very thoughtfully and calmly Chrysostomos replied, "It is the tradition of the Greek Clergy, and the duty of a good shepherd to remain with his flock. It's quite impossible for me to come with you".

When night had fallen, the Greek battleship *Limnos* was preparing to weigh anchor and depart with many officers and eminent citizens of Smyrna. The Commander and his officers tried their best to persuade Chrysostomos to join them, but only to receive the same answer as he had given to the R.C. Archbishop. The Metropolitan made one request, however, and it was for the *Limnos* to take a letter to the Prime Minister, Venizelos. This was his last letter, written a few hours before his martyrdom, and revealed his highest qualities of courage and faith, in face of the death he saw clearly before him.

On 26th August, Steriadis was taken on board H.M.S. *Iron Duke*, and the Greek flag was lowered from the Government buildings at 4.30 p.m. The spear-head of the victorious Turkish Army, led by Kör Pehlivan, presently broke into the city. Meanwhile the panic-stricken Greeks and Armenians were either trying to escape by plunging after boats, or seeking shelter in foreign churches and houses.

At this time the Verger of the Anglican Church of St. John the Evangelist was old Bill Lewis, eccentric in manner and appearance, and as devoted to his church as Quasimodo to *Nôtre Dame*. Bill was a grandson of the veteran C.M.S. missionary, the Revd. W. B. Lewis, of Boudjah, and for a time British Chaplain of Smyrna. He lived in the humble premises between the Parsonage and the Church Hall, content to be a door-keeper in the house of his God. While these troubles were raging, Bill successfully hid and fed thirty Greeks in the crypt of the church.

The morning of 27th August, found the Metropolitan kneeling before the Crucifix. He rose, calm and dignified, and spoke a word to the people who thronged the Cathedral : "Holy Providence tries our faith as well as our courage, but God does not forsake good Christians". After distributing food to the hungry, he mounted the pulpit, but his sermon was never delivered, for at that moment a Turkish soldier and a police-inspector entered the building to conduct him to Zali Zeki Bey, the Garrison Commander.

The Commander required him to dictate a communiqué by which all Greek citizens must give up their arms. At 8 p.m. the Governor of Smyrna placed Chrysostomos and two aldermen, Tchourouktchoglou and Klimanoglou under arrest. In custody he remembered his devoted brother Evghenio, who had refused to escape when opportunity offered because he wished to remain with him to the end. He managed to slip a scribbled card through to him, in which he wrote, "Dear Brother, we were detained to-night, I, as President of the Asia Minor resistance movement, and the others as members. Do not worry".

The Governor was none other than Nouridin, whom Chrysostomos through the Allied Control Commission, had formerly conspired to remove from office. Such are the fortunes of war. Versions vary as to the final details, but it is generally known that Chrysostomos was handed over to the crowd. They finally put him to death somewhere near Basmahane.

However conflicting opinions may remain about the great Metropolitan Archbishop's life and work, at least all fair-minded persons will agree that in his death he reached the

most sublime heights of human sacrifice. However ardent a national leader Chrysostomos had shown himself to be, it could never be said that he had in any way suggested or approved the gross acts of violence, rape and looting of his followers, which had so incensed the Turks. Many of those who had committed these acts had made good their escape. The Metropolitan, however, had voluntarily remained, and died nobly not simply as a martyr to the faith he held, but as himself bearing the consequences of all the evil deeds done by his countrymen. Thus by his death, which had a deeply religious significance, he was making expiation for the sins of his people.

A great fire had broken out and was sweeping the city. The Turks declared all males between seventeen and forty-five years of age to be prisoners of war, but allowed the Americans, British and French, to evacuate about 180,000 survivors to Mitylene and other Greek Islands. There were also about 3,000 British subjects, including Maltese and Cypriots, and the task of evacuating them and protecting British property fell to the Royal Navy and Marines, who as usual displayed exemplary coolness and courage. Only a handful chose to remain.

Sir Harry Lamb, K.C.M.G., H.M. Consul-General at Smyrna, excelled in his leadership and care of the British community throughout these terrible days.

The British subjects found sanctuary in Malta, where their Bishop met them and their Chaplains. The Chaplain of Smyrna was a New Zealander, the Revd. C. Dobson, M.C. Over a hundred refugees signed an appreciation of his services, declaring that "His acts of bravery and Christian abnegation are indelibly impressed on our minds and we shall never forget the nobility of character he displayed under such awful circumstances". Mr. Dobson received the thanks of H.M. The King, and the Foreign Office, for his work during the evacuation, and was appointed to peaceful Lisbon.

CHAPTER VII

TRIBULATION TEN DAYS

WHEN St. John wrote to the Smyrnaians "Ye shall have tribulation ten days", they would understand this to mean a definite, complete period of suffering, though the length of "the days" was not revealed to them. Our Lord's suffering on earth was not indefinite, but was followed by His glorious Resurrection and Ascension. History will ultimately show how the Age of Tribulation will end, and modern prophets and seers may well perceive signs that the day is at hand. The political philosopher may take the expansion of Western civilisation as a thesis, trace its antithesis in its impact on oriental Smyrna, and point to the synthesis of the democratic Turkish Republic which has emerged. The historian may observe that the Turkish War of Liberation has in fact brought greater freedom to the Christians, while the rapid progress of the country is removing every oppressive influence. The Revolution, with its epoch-making reforms, was the result of gradual reaction within the Ottoman Empire, and of the rise to power of a Turk who embodied the new outlook.

The Greeks' national aspirations, and those of the Western powers, must not be allowed to blind the seeker after truth to the feelings and fair claims of the Turks, who also had their religious and national ideals. Turkey had ever been the bravest and most effective sword of Islam, and, as with the Christians, the appeal to the religious fervour of the simple believer was never made in vain by those who wielded political power. If the Greeks had claimed that they were persecuted by the infidels, the Turks might claim that their country was being exploited by "giaours", many of whom had made vast fortunes. If the Greeks cited the horrors to which they were subjected, the Turks could point to atrocities perpetrated by disorderly elements in the Greek Army of occupation. Certainly the quantity of loot their soldiers brought from the



interior is still remembered by old inhabitants of Smyrna. One recalls a Greek soldier who passed through Cordelio brandishing a stick passed through a long row of rings and bracelets. Another tells how the Greek Army landed with a popular song to the effect that they were going to slaughter the Turks, capture Constantinople and free St. Sophia from the infidel; thus going far beyond the Treaty of Sèvres and greatly incensing the Turks. In fact from the Turkish point of view, their behaviour was appalling.

A pleasantly planted square on the sea-front, with a fine bronze statue of Kemal Ataturk, mounted on a war-horse with his sword drawn, marks the spot of the final defeat of the Greeks on 9th September, 1922.

On the ancient Lydian Pass, now called Belkahve, stands an eloquent monument overlooking the Bournabat Plain. Its form is an open stone building. At the steps leading up from the road is inscribed in modern Turkish, "This resting place and fountain were constructed in 1946, when the road was repaired". Within the shelter more than local history is engraved, which arrests the traveller, again in the new Turkish :

"Nif and Belkahve at the Turkish War of Liberation."

On 30th August, 1922, after fighting in the battle-field, the enemy armies, which were unable to resist anywhere along the front, were pursued by our triumphant army.

On the morning of 9th September, 1922, Mustapha Kemal and the Western Region Commander, General Ismet, set out from Salihli and arrived at Nif, and in order to see where the advanced forces had reached, they came here with their Staff, from whence they saw the last of the routed Greek armies leaving the port and the glorious Turkish Flag flying from Kadife Kale. (')

Thereupon, Mustapha Kemal Pasha (Ataturk), turning to General Ismet, said : "My General, the state of war in Anatolia is over for us; after this we shall have our other works to do".

Mustapha Kemal is thus revealed not as a mere despotic avenger but at once the child and the leader of the new order.

(') Mount Pagus.

[Photograph by Nuri Hamza Rustom, Izmi.

MODERN IZMIR

A view through the orange trees, over the harbour and across the gulf to Karsiyalea, with the Yamanlar Mountains in the distance.

This order owed much to the "Young Turk" Movement. The great Ottoman Empire had long been disintegrating. Young army officers, returning from training overseas, were bringing back new ideas. Under Enver Pasha they had deposed the Sultan in 1908, and introduced a measure of reform. Now the movement was evolving into something far more advanced under one of its early members.

Born at Salonica in 1881, the son of a local official who died when he was a boy, Mustapha went to a school where he was both brilliant and rebellious. He passed into the Military Cadet School without telling his mother, and there became even more knowledgeable and revolutionary. His subsequent career was dramatic. He was imprisoned, virtually exiled, became the hero of Gallipoli in 1915, quarrelled with Enver Pasha, the Young Turk Commander-in-Chief, and was posted to the remotest Russian front, where he nevertheless converted an inefficient group into a conquering army before the war was lost on the other fronts.

In 1918, though Turkey was carved up among the victorious Allies, Mustapha Kemal, now thirty-seven years old, cherished aspirations of a new Turkey on quite different lines. So when an unsympathetic Government sent him away from Istanbul as Inspector-General of the Forces, to supervise demobilisation, he took the opportunity to plan his revolution. He held a conference at Erzerum in July, 1919. Support for his dream of a new Turkey, self-supporting, modern, progressive and secular, gained considerably and he set up his headquarters at Ankara. His efforts were hampered by war-weariness, but so were those of the Allies, and their dissensions soon gave Kemal the opportunity of again showing the military prowess of himself and his followers. They marched victoriously on Smyrna.

Statesman as well as soldier, Kemal showed moderation to the vanquished, allowed repatriation, and toured the country to raise enthusiasm for the new Turkey and the People's Party, which he had formed. He deposed the Sultan. A Special Committee, consisting of mullahs and lawyers, was set up to consider the abolition of the Sultanate. Their deliberations were abruptly cut short by Kemal: "The Sultan took the suzerainty from the people by force, and by force the

people have taken it back. The Sultanate must be separated from the Caliphate, and go. You may agree or you may not, but nevertheless it will happen. And in the process some of your heads may fall". The Sultan escaped with some jewels, on a British warship, and his nephew became Caliph. After some time Kemal declared Turkey to be a Republic and himself President.

Kemal saw in the power of the Mullahs an impediment to progress. Though an agnostic, Kemal was essentially a patriot, who longed to see education, and the medical, material and cultural benefits of civilisation enjoyed by his people. He felt that the country was backward, like Spain, because of its excessively conservative religious-legal system. An opportunity to abolish the whole system was soon presented by a protest from the Aga Khan against alleged insults to the Caliph, who was regarded as the head of the Moslem world. Kemal seized the opportunity to banish the Caliph to Switzerland, whence the remaining members of the Royal Family followed.

Henceforth Turkey was to be a "laic", that is to say, a secular state. There is no doubt that the substitution of Sunday as a secular holiday for Friday as a Holy Day loosened the hold of Islam on the masses. The Swiss Code was adopted in place of religious courts, state schools replaced those of the mosques, marriages were solemnised in the "belediye" (register office) instead of the mosque, and even more sweeping reforms were to follow. In vain fanatical Moslem tribes rose in revolt, and in vain the Kurds poured over the Eastern borders. Kemal, the soldier, rose to the occasion and completely crushed all opposition, making it also an opportunity of ridding himself of his political enemies by accusing them of complicity with the Kurds.

More revolutionary changes were now put into effect. The fez, which the devout Moslem wore indoors and out, because its brimless shape enabled his forehead to touch the ground at the appointed hours of prayer, was declared illegal in 1925. Widespread riots against the Dictator's decree only resulted in wholesale imprisonment. Western dress was more generally welcomed, especially by the emancipated women, and steadily grew in fashion. The Arabic script was

abolished, the metric system introduced, the new Roman writing adopted, and the language purified from Persian and other foreign importations. Even services in the mosques were henceforth to be held in the new Turkish. And these were only signposts on the new road of progress which Turkey had taken.

The life and character of Mustapha Kemal, the Gazi, feared by his enemies as "The Grey Wolf", idolised by his people as Ataturk, "the Father of the Turks", is amongst the most famous of the modern world. When he died in 1938, it was universally recognised that his dream of a new, virile, progressive Turkey, which would ultimately take its place amongst the first-class powers, had indeed been realised.

Smyrna, the historic battle-field, now became the scene of all these sweeping social changes. The immediate cause of the great fire which had consumed the greater part of Smyrna, and which broke out as the city was being evacuated in September, 1922, has never been established. The Greeks asserted that it was started by the Turks, while the Turks affirmed that it was the retreating Greeks who set fire to the city. At all events a new Smyrna was to arise from the ashes, with a new name. Henceforth the city was to be called Izmir. Amongst the many other new place-names, Constantinople became Istanbul, Boudjah became Buca, and Cordelio was changed to Karsiyaka.

Vast areas of the city had been burnt to the ground. It is estimated that three fifths had been destroyed. All the old Frank Street had disappeared; only the façade of houses facing the sea remained in that quarter. The Greek churches in the villages and the city were raised to the ground or remained as empty shells. Everything Greek had suffered the ravages of war. The Armenian quarter near Basmahane had perished in the flames, including every vestige of their Cathedral of St. Stephen. Most Roman Catholic churches were untouched, especially in the villages, but others had suffered the same fate as the American Mission Girls' College and the American Y.W.C.A., in the Rue des Roses, various Bible depôts, and other religious buildings, in the general conflagration. The Anglican Church of St. John the Evangelist, at the Point, was unscathed, and eye-witnesses relate the

almost miraculous escape of the Dutch Chapel which stood unharmed by the fire which consumed the surrounding buildings.

Under the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne, 1923, which marked the beginning of the new epoch, some of the former residents began to return. Their first task was to help to build up the old waste places. Letters were exchanged between Ismet Pasha, President of the Turkish Delegation, and Sir Horace Rumbold, the British delegate to the Lausanne Conference, on the subject of religious works. Ismet Pasha wrote on 24th July, 1923, as follows :

" Your Excellency,

With reference to the established Convention signed at Lausanne this inst., and following the decision taken by the First Committee in its session of 17th May, 1923, relating to the implementing by letters of the Declaration which was to be annexed to the said Convention, I have the honour to declare, in the name of my Government, that it will recognise the existence of religious works, schools and hospitals, as also welfare institutions recognised as existing in Turkey before 30th October, 1914, and deriving from the British Empire; it will examine benevolently the case of any other similar British institutions in being in Turkey at the date of the Peace Treaty signed to-day, with a view to regularising their position.

The above-mentioned works and institutions will be, in regard to charges, fiscal and of every kind, treated on an equal footing with the similar Turkish works and institutions and will be subject to public order, as also to the laws and rules regulating the same. It is particularly intended that the Turkish Government will take note of the functioning of these establishments, and of what concerns the schools, and the practical organisation of their teaching.

Be assured, Your Excellency, of my highest consideration,
Ismet.

His Excellency Sir Horace Rumbold, Delegate of His Britannic Majesty at the Peace Conference."

The Americans received equally fair treatment. They reconstructed their spacious Girls' College at Göztepe on the outskirts of the city, where their work flourished. On the

other hand, the work of the American Missionaries suffered a set-back when their International College (for Boys), at Paradise, now named Kizilcullu, was commandeered by the local authorities for a teachers' training centre. It had, however, provided education chiefly for the Armenians, who had not returned.

The French and Italian Roman Catholics received every consideration, while the Revd. Louis Le Bouvier had hurried back from his European holiday, as soon as the storm broke on Smyrna, and carried on undisturbed at the Dutch Chapel among the various Continental Protestants. Mr. Le Bouvier served for a time as Chaplain to the British Community, in the absence of a Chaplain. He occupied St. John's Parsonage, where a few years later he died, and was not replaced at the Dutch Chapel.

Indeed, the only Christian elements which had vanished were the Armenian and Greek communities. It is true that the Dutch and German communities were dwindling to nothing and their respective churches and pastors had vanished with them, but their disappearance was due to other causes. Few Armenians had made good their escape, the rest had perished. Bishop Ghevont (Leontius) Toorian, the last Armenian Prelate in Smyrna had taken refuge in Greece. He later became Armenian Bishop in Manchester, and in 1933, was assassinated by Armenian Extremists in New York, while officiating in the Holy Mass on Christmas morning. Archbishop Indjeian, who recently died in Manchester, had left before the events of 1922. The Greek Government had given shelter to large numbers of Armenian families and orphans; others had found refuge in France, in the Balkans, in Syria and the Lebanon, in Egypt and North and South America, and a small group settled in Manchester. None remained in Izmir. The Revd. Bessak Toumayan, Armenian Vicar in London, wrote in reply to a recent enquiry : "This is the sad epilogue of an Armenian Community which once flourished in Smyrna . . . Our people once more gave evidence of its noble and dignified heroism in face of death and proved its highest conception of the teaching of Christ to Christian martyrdom".

As for the Greeks, whatever churches had not been com-

pletely destroyed, were converted into museums, markets, stables and the like. Not until the exchange of populations, of Macedonian Muslims for Levantine Greeks, had been duly carried out, and things had become more settled, could the handful of Greek Orthodox resume services, and then only in their Consulate buildings.

The task of reconstruction was immense, and in 1928, a severe earthquake destroyed the first attempts. The new régime, however, was full of enthusiasm and not to be discouraged. Fine avenues, modern blocks of flats and offices, soon sprang up. Building has made much progress in the past thirty years and in January, 1952, Sir Patrick Abercrombie, the celebrated British architect, visited Izmir to advise the authorities in regard to the many town-planning projects for new docks and for residential and business areas. The city to-day presents a rich mixture of Western and Eastern architectural design. A French firm began in 1955, the great work of dredging and building a grand new harbour at Alsancak. This will meet the railway terminal, and all the surrounding district will be rebuilt in more modern and luxurious style.

Immense advances and changes have taken place in the past thirty years. The population of Izmir after the Greeks had been driven out in 1922, was only 169,000, whereas in 1955 the census showed 431,560. It thus remains the third largest city in Turkey, practically as numerous as Ankara. It is the principal export city of Turkey and second only to Istanbul in imports. Geographically, Izmir still stands supreme. The Republic of Turkey is divided into seven Districts, of which the Aegean district alone yields more than 250 kinds of export from an area of 108,983 kilometres, supporting a population of nearly three and a half million. Its valleys have provided natural roads, all leading to Izmir, from the richest regions of the interior, since time immemorial. These have now been superseded by modern roads and railways, which again concentrate the entire industrial and agricultural produce of the rich hinterland in Izmir, which is still by far the greatest of the present forty odd harbours and ports of the Aegean coast. While the ancient ports of Ephesus, Miletus, Priene and Heraclea, are now far inland and forgotten, Izmir is still the port with a future, with docks 3,300

metres long, and a 600 metres breakwater sheltering its harbour and customs house.

Local trains run daily from Basmahane Station to Karşıyaka, and also to Bornova, and from Alsancak Station to Buca. Local and long distance buses are seen everywhere. In the Port quarter, imposing commercial offices, banks, travel and shipping agencies, warehouses for dried figs, sultanas and for manipulating tobacco abound. Around the coast one sees liquorice, valonia, cotton and wool factories, and everywhere the appearance of a busy commercial city, crowded with streamlined American cars and other makes, contrasting strangely with the picturesque camel caravans with their bells tinkling, laden donkeys and peasant costumes, with coffee-houses, where only men sit, smoking their "hubble-bubbles" oblivious of the changing world outside.

From the northern slopes of Mount Pagus, an area of 430,000 square metres extends nearly to the shore. It is called the "Kültürpark", and contains many pavilions, including a zoological garden, sports clubs, a theatre, a parachute tower, cafés and a restaurant surrounded by an artificial lake inhabited by varieties of duck. This is the scene of the celebrated "International Fair", from 20th August to 20th September, which is at once a commercial, educational and social enterprise, typical of the spirit of modern Turkey and a powerful aid to her progress. In 1950, for example, no less than 1,400,000 admission tickets were sold, there were 117 pavilions, and 11 foreign countries were represented. Many distinguished persons visit this annual event, including on this occasion H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh. The President of the Republic and Ambassadors and Ministers of State have honoured the Fair with their presence.

Great advances continue to be made in medicine, education, law, science and social welfare. In modern Izmir there is little violence; malaria is comparatively rare; fire-fighting equipment has reduced another menace; even scorpions, earthquakes and the like, do not hold the terrors they did in former years. There are many fine Turkish schools and colleges and cultural institutions.

Another aspect, however, of this progressive secular state may be seen from Mount Pagus, now called Kadife Kale.

Near the stadium, where St. Polycarp was martyred, is a modern and popular "gazino" overlooking the city. To go there in the evening during Bayram, is to enjoy a most glorious view of the Gulf in the sunset, while below, the lights round the minarets of all the mosques are twinkling like stars. One is recalled to religion.

There, below to the left, lies Karantina, once the populous and prosperous Jewish quarter. Now there are comparatively few, for some have gone to Israel, but they still have their synagogue and are free from persecution. The Jewish Community are Turkish citizens, but their association, or "cemiyet" as it is called, is recognised by the authorities. They enjoy freedom of worship, and their annual meetings are attended by a Government official, who also attended the last election of their Chief Rabbi.

There are mosques, as far as the eye can see, for Islam is still the religion of the people if not of the State, and all citizens are free to worship as they please. There are, in fact, fifty-five mosques in the city itself, three in Karsiyaka and two in Bornova. Over these sixty mosques the Mufti of Izmir presides, assisted by a hundred and ten hodjas, muezzins and clerks. They keep up the traditional services day and night, calling the people to prayer at the appointed hours of 6.30 a.m., 12.10 a.m., 3.20 p.m., 5.50 p.m. and 7.20 p.m.

The other great monotheistic religion of the World is also well represented in the churches, schools and hospital, which lie below the Mount. At present the Roman Catholics predominate with about two and a half thousand adherents, served by fifteen priests, under the jurisdiction of the R.C. Archbishop of Izmir. They possess nine churches, including the fine Cathedral of St. Polycarp in the centre of the city. The famous Capucin "College of the Orient", standing next to the Anglican Church in Buca, is now merely a block of tenements, but in the city itself "Les Frères", of the Order of St. John Baptist of Salles, run the flourishing "St. Joseph's College". Here the local authorities are very helpful and freely allow withdrawal classes for religious instruction for Catholic boys. Over seventy of the boys avail themselves of this opportunity. "Les Soeurs" run two other schools on similar lines, the one solely for girls, the other mixed. They

also run the French Hospital as a mission of mercy, which likewise is available to adherents of all religions.

The Greek Orthodox number only thirty to forty families, and until recently held their services in two rooms in their Consulate-General, converted into a chapel. An Archimandrite ministered to their spiritual needs. In 1951, however, after prolonged negotiations, the Greeks obtained possession of the derelict Dutch Chapel, on a lease of ninety-nine years, and permission to establish a church outside their Consular premises. An eager response and keen restoration work resulted in the inauguration of their new church, in the presence of many Orthodox dignitaries and notables, where they now worship undisturbed.

The influx of the Greek element of N.A.T.O. has recently led to the formation of a Sunday School and a vigorous church life under the inspiring leadership of the Reverend Fr. Timotheos Argudaris and his wife, who are both very popular.

The character of the Dutch Chapel has thus changed as much as its former community. It is typical of the Smyrna "kaleidescope" that in 1955, when the Dutch Community, many descended from such old Smyrna families as Van Lennup, de Hochepié, and de Jongh, met to honour their Queen's birthday at their Consulate, of over eighty present only three or four could speak Dutch. Their loyalty and affection for the country of their origin, however, remains constant.

Out at Göztepe, the American Mission College continues to provide secular education for over three hundred girls. Their "graduates" now include many citizens, and their work is fully recognised and valued by the local authorities. The American Board continues to send out Congregational teachers for two or three years, while a few of their staff have lived in Turkey all their lives and have a wide circle of Turkish friends. The American community, now the largest foreign element in Izmir, with their Chaplains, fill St. John's for services and oratories, by arrangement with the Church of England.

The Church of England still retains her three Anglican churches in Izmir, Bornova and Buca. Their numbers are

few but their loyalty and faith are "as constant as the Northern Star". In Bornova and Buca the congregations are elderly, for the young people have gone to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Izmir consists of a more "floating" population, but here, too, there are usually only a handful, except on official occasions or visits of the Royal Navy. Nevertheless they maintain their long tradition. The three churches are now all served by one clergyman, the British Chaplain, who is the only Anglican priest resident in Turkey-in-Asia, for his neighbour, the Embassy Chaplain at Istanbul, resides in Europe. They are to a large extent self-supporting, providing for their own Chaplain and churches, as well as for Diocesan needs, and subscribing to Turkish and other charities.

The German (Lutheran) Chaplain in Turkey, Pfarrer H. Haeberle, wrote in the Anglican church magazine :

"A particular jewel among the towns of Turkey is the charming and beautiful port on the Aegean Sea, with its history of milleniums, situated in an incomparably abundant landscape : Izmir. It was once the place of a large and flourishing German colony and of the oldest German Evangelical parish abroad in the Near East. The parish of Izmir existed already one century before the parish of Constantinople had been founded; it owned a neat church, a school, a hospital which was directed by German deaconesses. The happenings of war and the great fire in 1922, have completely destroyed the church, the school and the hospital; the German colony and parish have disappeared except a very small rest. The chancel of St. John's Church is just sufficient to gather in a divine service the little number of Evangelical Germans who are living to-day at Izmir as functionaries of the consulate, merchants, engineers and artisans. But each time there are particularly impressive festive hours when the few German speaking brethren and sisters in faith join on some Sundays of the year in order to confess and to strengthen their Evangelical faith and to praise God. They do so in the beautiful English church in view of the commanding altar-windows of St. John's who ended his rich life in the neighbouring Ephesus, and the windows of St. Polycarp's who died as a witness for his faith in Christ on the ground of Smyrna".

(*The Candlesticks*, Autumn, 1954.)

The completely new attitude towards those of different religions than their own, which is now so noticeable, can perhaps best be explained by the dissociation of politics from religion under the new régime. Hitherto politics and religion have been too often identified amongst the peoples of this land. Turkey is a signatory to the Declaration of Human Rights, and together with the civilised world stands for religious freedom. This new spirit of toleration and fair-play does not mean, however, that religion, of any creed, may interfere in the affairs of state. Hence the Turkish Government is specially vigilant against reactionary and fanatical movements, such as that of the Ticani Sect, whose members recently mutilated statues of Atatürk. On the other hand, the authorities feel more and more the need for religion, and amongst recent legislation has been the introduction of voluntary religious education in the State Schools through their Ministry of Religion, and the permissive use of Arabic in the mosques.

It was probably a wise law, during this transition period, to forbid the wearing of ecclesiastical dress in public places. This applied not only to all the clergy and religious, but also to the Moslems. Indeed, the State has not discriminated against Christians, and even allows the R.C. Archbishop of Izmir the privilege of wearing his clerical collar at all times. Certainly the common civilian dress, worn by all, has helped to bridge the gulf between man and man, and lead to the better understanding which exists to-day.

Perhaps it was more than a mere coincidence that when the Book of Common Prayer of the Established Church of England was revised in 1928, the words of the Collect for Good Friday, already ancient in 1662, were altered from : "Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy Word ", to : "Have mercy upon thine ancient people the Jews, and upon all who have not known thee, or who deny the faith of Christ crucified ". The bitter hatred has gone.

On 9th December, 1951, prayers were offered at Sisli Mosque for the recovery of Madame Peron, the wife of the Argentine President. This was the first time that a Moslem ceremony had been held for a Roman Catholic, but it is

symbolic of the vastly improved relations. When prayers for those who fell in Korea were broadcast from an Istanbul mosque on Sunday, 17th February, 1952, they included prayers for the late King George VI and the Royal Family. Christians are gladly welcomed as visitors to the mosques, provided they observe their religious customs. The British Chaplain regularly prays for the President of the Turkish Republic, as well as for his own Queen and Country, and from time to time accedes to requests for prayers from, and for, Moslems in sickness or other distress.

Turkish citizens are members of all the Churches in Izmir, and instead of hostility one finds an increasing interest in the Christian Faith, and helpfulness on the part of local authorities. Many Turkish houses have Christmas Trees for their children, and at Easter the shops are full of Easter Eggs. Moslems reverently attend the funerals of Christian friends, eager to bear the coffin and so gain space, as they believe, in Paradise. A new Turkish Cemetery has come into being at Karsiyaka, with both Moslem and Christian sections, side by side. At least a good-will prevails which was not apparent under the old régime. True there remain a few petty restrictions in regard to church life, but thirty years is a short time in which to have accomplished so much in that age-old, world-wide problem of Church and State. Christians have every reason to be thankful for the better relations which now exist.

The new Turkish outlook is reflected in their Press. For instance, the leader writer of *Yeni Sabah* observed on 20th February, 1952, that it was "strange that, at a time when Turkey takes her place in the defence of the free world, Turks are not able to express their religious feelings. Recently all members of the Houses of Lords and Commons swore on the Bible an oath of allegiance to Queen Elizabeth, but such an action in Turkey would be considered contrary to the principles of the revolution". The same writer, a few days earlier had remarked that "Queen Elizabeth undertook to do her duty 'by the grace of God' and as 'Defender of the Faith'. Thus religious principles inspire the laic and democratic British Empire, and Presidents Roosevelt and Truman have likewise asked the help of God. In Turkey, however,

this would be considered a form of fanaticism. In reality, the only countries who do not invoke God's help are Russia and her satellites, because religion is contrary to their ideology".

Istanbul of 1st March, 1952, told how the country was moving "Towards the Dissolution of the Islam Democratic Party". The Ministry of Justice was instigating enquiries in every locality where branches existed, on the grounds that this political party was founded on principles contrary to laicism and tended to religious provocations among the citizens. The Party denied charges of using religious propaganda for political ends, but the Public Prosecutor was nevertheless proceeding against them. Later in the month, the Prime Minister, Menderes, announced in parliament that it had been decided to abolish the Islam Democratic Party, for the national benefit.

The need for religion, however, is fully recognised by the Government for "Cumhuriyet" about the same time reported that "During discussion of the Religious Affairs Budget many members asked that this should be increased, and the amount has been raised to T.L. 480,000 as a result".

Most significant of all, perhaps, was the friendly and sympathetic publicity given by the Press to the Memorial Service for King George VI at St. John the Evangelist's Church, Izmir, on the day of his funeral, 15th February, 1952. Photographs were taken of the overflowing congregation, of the notabilities and clergy, and the occasion was widely reported. *Yeni Asir (the New Age)* of 16th February, 1952, devoted headlines :

*"About English King's Burial
Yesterday Flags were half-mast, and there were Prayers
at the Church"*

As it was the Burial Day of our friend King George VI, King of our friend the English Nation, yesterday there was mourning in Turkey. In our city, too, all the flags joined in the mourning at half-mast, and the cinemas, theatres, cafés and the like were closed. Furthermore, Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir Radio Stations did not broadcast any music during the day.

Religious Service. In our city Protestant people and the English Community attended the religious service at the

English Church at Alsancak at noon. In this service many Consulates of 'friend' countries took part. Among the people invited we noticed the Deputy Governor, Hayri Ozlu, the Mayor, Rauf Onueal, General Tahsin Yazici, Commander of the Korean troops, Bank Directors of our city, the Chief Clerk of the Chamber of Trade, and the Press. The ceremony concluded after prayers had been offered in a mystic atmosphere for an hour".

The N.A.T.O. H.Q. of the Allied Land Forces of South-East Europe, was established at the former International College at Kizilcullu (formerly Paradise) in 1952, and took over the biggest new hotel just built on the sea-front in 1954. From these imposing buildings now fly the flags of the fifteen member countries, including Turkey, which joined N.A.T.O. on 17th February, 1952.

On Remembrance Sunday, 1954, the Turkish General and his family, as well as the Greek General, attended the official service, together with the American Commanding General, at St. John the Evangelist's, Izmir. Indeed the church is frequently honoured by the presence of Turkish notables on all such national occasions as the Coronation, or funerals of eminent Christian citizens. When the wedding took place between a young American officer from Korea and the daughter of the N.A.T.O. Chief of Staff, Brig.-General McDaniel, on 9th January, 1955, the event was given warm publicity in the Turkish Press. Photographs were taken inside and outside the church and produced and reported most sympathetically by the *Telegraf* and *Yeni Asir*.

The three great monotheistic religions stand united to-day against atheistic Communism. Less than a hundred years ago Smyrna was celebrated for her slave-market, now all her citizens are free. Perhaps they will suffer together for Freedom and their faith in God. Perhaps they will not be called upon to do so in this historic city. "And unto Smyrna", the exiled Saint on Patmos, whose eagle-eye could pierce the future, wrote as from the Lord: "Ye shall have tribulation ten days". Smyrna, crowned with life, now looks back over centuries of tribulation, and looks forward through the eyes of faith to a new Age. Her name was changed by the Turkish Republic. Letters addressed to "Smyrna" will probably be

returned by the Post Office. Yet the old name lingers on, and for the sake of clarity often appears on sundry communications as "Izmir (Smyrna)". In this place, sacred for its associations, the faithful pray and offer the reparation of suffering. The acceptable offering must be complete. Can the prophets foretell when the word in parenthesis will vanish? Or how long it will continue in its Turkish form?

APPENDIX A

MAIN EVENTS

B.C.	C3000?	Foundation of Smyrna.
	C2000	Hittite domination.
	1060?	Aeolian migration.
	1050-	
	1000	Ionic migration.
	580	Lydians captured Smyrna.
	546	Persian conquest.
	300	Greek conquest.
	281	Seleucid conquest.
	191	Roman conquest.
	4	Birth of Christ and Visit of the Magi to Bethlehem.
A.D.	30	Pentecost at Jerusalem.
	53-56	St. Paul's missionary journey.
	64	Nero's persecution.
	115	St. Ignatius arrived in chains.
	155	Martyrdom of St. Polycarp.
	313	Edict of Milan.
	395	The Empire divided.
	1054	The Great Schism.
	1076	Seldjoukian conquest.
	1097	Byzantines recaptured Smyrna.
	1200	Fourth Crusade and foundation of the Latin Empire.
	1261	Michael Paléologos' alliance with the Genoese.
	1300	Rise of the Ottoman dynasty.
	1344	Fifth Crusade.
	1402	Siege of Smyrna by Tamerlane.
	1453	Fall of Constantinople to Osmanli Turks.
	1914-18	The Great War.
	1922	Turkish War of Liberation.
	1952	Turkey joined N.A.T.O. H.Q. S.E. Europe established at Izmir.

APPENDIX B

The religious traditions of all the confessions that have flourished in Smyrna have left their mark, and relations between the Churches are extremely friendly and co-operative within this truly oecumenical community. The Church of England continues to make her contribution under the Metropolitan authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the active leadership of the present Lord Bishop of Gibraltar, the Rt. Revd. F. W. T. Craske, and the genial supervision of the Archdeacon of Malta, the Ven. F. J. Bailey, M.V.O. Grateful acknowledgement is here due to Mr. Donald Simpson, Hon. Research Librarian of the Gibraltar Diocese, for the appended lists of the Anglican clergy, and for much useful information about those mentioned in the relevant chapters.

BISHOPS OF GIBRALTAR

(Prior to the establishment of the Diocese of Gibraltar in 1842, spiritual jurisdiction was exercised by the Lord Bishop of London.)

1842-1863	George Tomlinson, D.D.
1863-1867	Walter John Trower, D.D.
1868-1873	Charles Amyand Harris, M.A.
1874-1903	Charles Waldegrave Sandford, D.D.
1904-1911	William Edward Collins, D.D.
1911-1920	Henry Joseph Corbett Knight, D.D.
1921-1927	John Harold Greig, D.D.
1927-1933	Frederick Cyril Nugent Hicks, D.D.
1933-1946	Harold Jocelyn Buxton, M.A.
1947-1953	Cecil Douglas Horsley, M.A.
1953-	Frederick William Thomas Craske, F.K.C., B.A.

CHAPLAINS OF SMYRNA

1636-1639	Thomas Curtys, M.A.
1640-1642	William Gotbed, M.A.
1642-1645	Nathaniel Durant, M.A.
1645-1651	William Bull, M.A.
1652	Eleazar Duncone, D.D.
1652-1653	Thomas Browne, LL.D. (Appointed but never went.)
1654-1660	Robert Winchester, M.A.
1660-1662	John Clarke.
1662-1664	John Broadgate, B.D.
1664-1669	John Luke, D.D.
1670-1674	Philip Traherne, B.D.
1674-1683	John Luke, D.D.
1684-1689	Thomas Smith, M.A.
1689-1692	Edward Smyth, D.D. (Later Bp. Down & Connor.)
1692-1697	Thomas Rawlins, B.C.L.
1698-1701	Edmund Chishull, B.D.
1701-1710	John Tisser, M.A.
1710-1716	Samuel Lisle, D.D. (Later Bp. of Norwich.)
1716	Thomas Owen, M.A. (Died before going to Smyrna.)
1717-1724	Bernard Mould, M.A.
1724-1751	Charles Burdett, D.D.
1752-1761	Philip Brown, M.A.
1762	John Forster. (Appointed but never went.)
1762-1763	Daniel Shipton, M.A.
1766-1772	Beveridge Clendon.
1772-1773	Robert Marris, B.D.
1776-1777	John Faithfull, M.A.
1778-1790	Robert Foster, B.A.
1791	Edward Nankivell, B.A. (Appointed but never went.)
1791-1797	Peter Cunningham.
1799-1808	John Frederic Usko.

1810-1814	George Cecil Renouard, B.D.
1815-1817	William Sneyd.
1817-1820	Charles Williamson.
1820-1821	Edward Bellamy, B.D.
1821-1840	Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell, M.A.
1840-1868	William Buchner Lewis, M.A. (Acting from 1833.)
1868-1870	Charles Constantine Hanson.
1870-1880	James D'Ombrain, M.A.
1880-1890	John Bainbridge Smith, M.A.
1893-1894	William Edward Douglas.
1894-1895	James Wilson, M.A.
1895-1897	Charles Fillan Bellot, B.A.
1897-1900	Alfred Hitch Ellis, B.A.
1900-1908	Arthur Smythe Hichens, B.D.
1909-1919	William Henry Brett, O.B.E.
1919-1922	Lucius George Pownall Fry, M.A.
1922	Charles James Hamilton Dobson, M.C.
1925-1930	William Henry Edgell.
1930-1931	Philip John Coleman, A.K.C. (temporary chaplain).
1932-1947	Arthur James Westcott, D.D.
1947-1949	Bernard Sydney Hewitt, B.A.
1949-	Samuel Walsh Harold Bird, M.A. Hon. C.F.

ASSISTANT CHAPLAINS

1860-1863	Rowland Richard Cousens, B.A.
1887-1889	Robert Wakeford, M.A.
1905-1906	William Davin Barber, M.A. (Seamen's Mission.)

CHAPLAINS OF BOUDJAH

1839-1840	John Andrew Jetter. (C.M.S.)
1839-1868	William Buchner Lewis, M.A.
1842-1877	John Theophilus Wolters. (C.M.S.)
1867-1885	John Moses Eppstein. (L.J.S.)
187?-1885	William Charteris. (C. of S.)
1885-1898	Louis Le Bouvier (French Reformed Church.)
1898-1925	Robert Pickering Ashe, M.A.

CHAPLAINS OF BOURNABAT

1859-1861	John Theophilus Wolters.
1862	Rowland Richard Cousens, B.A.
1863-1868	William Buchner Lewis, M.A.
1869-1871	John Moses Eppstein. (L.J.S.)
1871-1880	James D'Ombrain, M.A.
1880-1890	John Bainbridge Smith, M.A.
1890-1895	Charles Fillan Bellot, B.A.
1895-1914	Reginald Allen, M.A.
1919-1922	Lucius George Pownall Fry, M.A.

INDEX

A

	<i>page</i>
Abbott, G. F.	8, 9.
Abdul-Hamid	75.
Aboukir Bay	62.
Alexander the Great	17, 18.
Alp-Arslan	34.
American Mission	66, 68, 111.
Antiochus Soter	18.
Arundell, Revd. F. V. J.	67.
Asklepiades	29.
Attila	32.

B

	<i>page</i>
Barberossa	35.
Bayazid	39, 40.
Blake, Admiral	49.
Broadgate, John	50.
Burian, O.	7.

C

	<i>page</i>
Garians	17.
Chrysostomos, Metro.	80, 91.
Clement VI	37.
Cobelitz, M.	8.
Collins, Rt. Revd. W. E.	75.
Constantine	30, 32.
Curtys, Thos.	48.
Cyrus	17.

D

	<i>page</i>
Decius	28.
Dobson, Revd. C.	100.
Dominicans	56, 62, 71.
Ducas, John	34.

E

	<i>page</i>
Earthquake	18, 55, 108.
Elizabeth I.	42, 45
Escreet, Revd. John	74.
Euktemon	28.

F

	<i>page</i>
Favé, Revd. J. P. S.	67.
Fire	61, 65, 71, 100.
Fisk, Revd. P.	66, 67
Franciscans	44, 47, 60.

G

	<i>page</i>
Gibraltar, Bishop of	69, 74, 75, 100.
Goffe, Thos.	7.
Gregory St.	48.

H

	<i>page</i>
Hadow, Revd. G. E.	74.
Hadrian	24.
Harborne, Wm.	46.
Hartley, John	67.
Hittite Empire	12, 17.
Hizir Bey	38, 39.
Hospitallers	37, 38.
Huns	32.

I

	<i>page</i>
Ignatius	22.
Innocent III	35.

J

	<i>page</i>
Jowett, Revd. Wm.	66.

K

	<i>page</i>
Kallisto	21.
Kemal, Mustafa	96, 102.
King, J.	67.
Knolles, R.	7.
Koran	81, 83.
Kösedag, Battle of	36.

L

	<i>page</i>
Lagier, C.	19, 25.
Laumonier, M.	17.
Lewis, Bill	99.
Lewis, W. B.	99.
Lydians	17.

INDEX—*continued*

	<i>page</i>		<i>page</i>
M		S	
Magnesia, Battle of	18.	Sabina	29.
Markion	27.	Sarimipeoglu	57.
Mason, Canon A. J.	78.	Sèvres, Treaty of	90, 102.
Metrodorus	30.	Slaars	60.
Moawiah	33.	Suleyman	42.
Mohammed	32, 82.		T
Mongols	36, 39.	Tamerlane	36, 39.
Moyer, Capt. John	48.	Theodosius	32.
		Toynbee, A.	9.
N		U	
Napoleon	62.	Umur Bey	37.
Neale, J. M.	9.		
North, Roger	50.		V
		Vatatzes, John	35.
P		Virgin Mary, Feast-day of	71.
Paléologos, M.	35, 36.		W
Parsons, Revd. L.	66.	Whittall, Charlton	68.
Pionios	28.	Williamson, Revd. Chas.	66.
Plague	44, 57, 65.	Wolff, J.	67.
Polemon	29.	Wolters, Revd. J. T.	70.
Polycarp	21, 64, 74, 79.		Y
		Young Turk Movement	
R		8, 75, 91, 103.	
Ray, Wm.	48.		Z
Richard Coeur de Lion	34.	Zachas	34.

